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CHURCH HISTORY

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The Finnish Church and Russian
Imperialism

T. A. Kantonen

Objectives and Achievements of the Liturgical
Movement in the Roman Catholic Church
Since World War II

Ernst B. Koenker

The Pietist and Puritan Sources of Early
Protestant World Missions. (Cotton
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and Suggestions

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of the Logos

H. A. Wolfson



Published by
THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

FOUNDED BY PHILIP SCHAFF, 1888; REORGANIZED, 1906; INCORPORATED BY ACT
OF THE LEGISLATURE OF NEW YORK, 1916.

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CHURCH HISTORY is a quarterly journal published in March, June, September, and December by the American Society of Church History. The editorial address is Swift Hall 306, The University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Subscription prices are four dollars a year, one dollar and a quarter for single copies. Twenty-five cents a year should be added for foreign countries. Remittances should be made to the order of the American Society of Church History. Subscriptions, renewals, changes of address, claims for missing numbers, orders for single copies of current or back issues should be addressed to Guy S. Klett, Presbyterian Historical Society, 520 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania. Claims for missing numbers will be honored without charge if made within two months following the regular month of publication.

The articles in CHURCH HISTORY are indexed in the *International Index of Periodicals*.

Microfilm reproductions of CHURCH HISTORY, beginning with Volume XVIII, are available to subscribers and to members of the Society from University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The Publication Office is in Berne, Indiana.

Entered as second class matter March 9, 1934, at the post-office at Berne, Indiana, under the Acts of March 3, 1879.

CHURCH HISTORY

Edited By J. H. NICHOLS and WILHELM PAUCK
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June, 1951

No. 2

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THE FINNISH CHURCH AND RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

T. A. KANTONEN

Hamma Divinity School

Of all the nations which during the second World War took up arms against Russia, Finland alone has escaped military occupation and retained her independence. An American visitor to this farthest European outpost of Western democracy against Soviet expansion cannot fail to be impressed by the freedom of speech, of assembly, of worship, and of the press, which prevails there, especially when he bears in mind the fate of the nations on the southern side of the Gulf of Finland. The Finns, to be sure, exert every effort to maintain diplomatically "correct" relations with their powerful eastern neighbor. Their most recent treaty of peace with Russia forbids them to enter into foreign alliances such as the Atlantic Pact which are objectionable to the Russians, and the Finns realize that their geographical position does not permit them to violate the treaty. They know that they are on their own and that no Western power, no matter how sympathetic it might feel, is likely to come to Finland's aid should she provoke Russia to wrath. But the same treaty also contains the Russian promise not to interfere in Finland's internal affairs, and so far the Russians have observed the treaty as "correctly" as the Finns. Hence during my four-month sojourn in Finland in 1949 I found less war hysteria there than we had at home. In remarking on this fact to a bishop of the Church of Finland, I received this reply: "Why should we be anxious? Our situation today is no different from what it has been for seven hundred years. During all these centuries we have had to face the same danger from the East."

These words furnish the key for understanding the relation between the Finnish Church and Russian imperialism. The danger from the East is real but it is nothing new. Ever since the Church was planted on Finnish soil through the first crusade from Sweden about 1155 and became the bulwark of the religion and culture of the West, it has been under the pressure, direct or indirect, from the Russian East. Finland's location between Sweden and Russia doomed it to become the battle ground for these two countries. There is indeed evidence that as early as the year 1000, when the first Swedish king was baptized, efforts were being made to bring Christianity into Fin-

land from Novgorod. The earliest crosses unearthed in Finland are of the Greek type and the Finnish words for cross and the Bible are of Russian origin. The establishment of the Swedish rule and the Roman Church in Finland involved from the beginning armed clashes with the Russians. The first significant Russian attack on Finland was the invasion of Häme (Tavastland) in 1227. Thirteen years later Bishop Thomas, the head of the Finnish Church, retaliated by leading an ill-fated crusade against Novgorod. During the thirteenth century the Swedish Roman Catholic sovereignty over western Finland became solidly established, but the Russians continued to make raids on eastern Finland. The last of the Finnish crusades occurred in 1293 when Torgils of Sweden invaded Karelia, drove the Russians across the Neva River, built the castle of Viipuri, and forced the Swedish form of religion upon the West Karelians. Thirty years later, in the peace of Pähkinäsaari (Schlüsselburg), the boundary between Swedish Finland and Novgorod was fixed, with the result that western Karelia became attached to the former, while eastern Karelia came under the control of Novgorod and of the Greek Orthodox religion.

The following five centuries, while Finland was an integral part of the Kingdom of Sweden, are characterized on the one hand by a constant widening of the cultural and religious gulf between Russia and Finland and on the other hand by constant Russian attempts to wrest Finland from Sweden. Under the Swedish crown the Finns had the same status as the Swedes, they were governed by the same common law (the Code of Magnus Erikson, 1350, and of King Christopher, 1442), enjoyed the same political and legislative rights, and shared in the common task of building the social institutions of a grass roots democracy. In this development, already during the Roman Catholic period, the Church was the principal integrative and educative agency which welded the Finnish tribes into one nation and trained it for a place among the nations of western Europe. During the reign of Gustav Vasa (1523-1560), the Reformation was introduced into Finland and the state Church became Lutheran. The Finnish Reformation was accomplished without any bloodshed or any violent break with the past and served only to heighten the influence of the Church in the national life. It is the Finnish Reformer and first Lutheran bishop Michael Agricola who is celebrated also as "the father of Finnish literature." From the time of Agricola the Reformation in Finland has become a continuous educational process within the framework of a national ecclesiastical institution which has remained intact through the centuries. The bishops, on the whole, have been among the leading educators of the nation, usually former university professors, and as early as the seventeenth century the Church instituted strict

discipline to compel the masses of the people to learn to read. Little wonder that Finland became a thoroughly Lutheran country where even simple country folk could quote not only the Bible but also the *Book of Concord*. Among their proudest memories the Finns have prized their participation in the Thirty Years' War under Gustavus Adolphus. Fully a third of the army of the Swedish king were Finns.

When a people with such institutional and ideological orientations becomes subject, one century after another, to attacks by a power which represents an entirely different way of life but is motivated by political reasons to conquer the country, the result is sheer tension. To the mind of the devout and patriotic Finn, long before the present century, Russian imperialism became the concrete personification of "the old bitter foe who means us deadly woe." From the time of the first Muscovite Czar, Ivan III, who devastated Finland at the end of the fifteenth century, to the reign of Czar Alexander I, who became the first Grand Duke of Finland in 1809, there was scarcely a generation of Finns which was not compelled to take up arms to resist Russian aggression. Particularly fateful to Finland were Peter the Great's decision to establish his capital at St. Petersburg and the consequent Czarist policy to change the Baltic into a Russian lake. The most tragic years of Finnish history are the years 1713-1721, known to historians as the Great Northern War between Sweden and Russia, but always referred to by Finnish writers as "the Great Wrath." As Peter's armies ravaged Finland, half the population was either killed or driven into exile, churches were burned and pastors put to death, and the entire national life suffered the same kind of blow as has befallen Estonia in our day. After the peace of Uusikaupunki (Nystad) in 1721 had restored most of Finland to Sweden, the nation recovered with remarkable rapidity, but the scars left by "the Great Wrath" were permanent. Memories of the horrors of the Russian occupation are an important factor in explaining the stand which the hopelessly outnumbered Finns made against Russian aggression in 1808 and again in 1939.

The years between 1809 and 1918 constitute what the Finns call the Russian parenthesis in their history. After six centuries all of Finland was at last severed from Sweden and attached as a Grand Duchy to the Russian Empire. The opening of this period was bright with promise. Finland did not become part of Russia but was accorded the status of an autonomous nation connected with the Empire only through the person of the Czar. Alexander I solemnly ratified "the religion and the fundamental laws of the land," and the Autocrat of all the Russias became the constitutionally limited Grand Duke of Finland. The outburst of nationalism which followed is well expressed

in the slogan: "Swedes we are no longer; Russians we never can be: therefore we must be Finns."

From the religious point of view, it is significant that the organization and administration of the Church remained unchanged. The Church was free to proceed along the line of its own deeply rooted traditions with little political interference. To be sure, the supreme authority even in the affairs of the Church, which had been vested formerly in a Lutheran king, was now transferred to a Greek Catholic czar, but Alexander I assumed a friendly and liberal attitude toward the Finnish Church, and he ruled long enough to establish a precedent. Hence through almost the entire nineteenth century, while formally under imperial control, the Church enjoyed remarkable freedom and was enabled to carry out thorough-going reforms, both external and internal. The former is represented by the new and more democratic Church Law of 1869, the latter by a nation-wide spiritual revival initiated by a layman, Paavo Ruotsalainen. The revival gave new depth and vitality to the religious life of the nation and came to have far-reaching effects in determining the attitudes of the people, social as well as personal. It has been the peculiar good fortune of the Church of Finland that its revival and reform movements have not led to separatism but have only strengthened the established Church.

Czars like Alexander I and Alexander II respected the Constitution of Finland not only because of their own liberal outlook but chiefly because they were convinced that Russian interests were best served by retaining the gratitude and loyalty of the Finnish people. But to the growing nationalistic imperialism of Russia, with its Pan-Slavist objectives, "one law, one church, one tongue," Finland became more and more an insufferable anomaly. Only a few miles from the imperial capital was the boundary of a country which was nominally part of the Empire but nevertheless had its own culture, language, and religion, its own courts and laws, its own military, postal, monetary and economic systems, and even imposed tariffs on Russian goods. The attack on the Finnish Constitution and the rights and liberties which it guaranteed began during the reign of Alexander III. With the accession of Nicholas II in 1894 a specific policy of the Russification of Finland was launched. To carry out this policy Bobrikov, a ruthless Russian general, was appointed Governor General of Finland in 1898. His first act was the conscription of Finns to serve in the Russian army. This was followed by the February Manifesto, February 15, 1899, which aimed at the abrogation of the legislative power of the Finnish Parliament. A reign of terror followed, with secret police, illegal arrests, and deportations to Siberia, as Bobrikov proceeded to make himself the dictator of Finland. The nation as a

whole met the aggression with a determined and thorough-going passive resistance, and upon the assassination of Bobrikov in 1904 and the national strike of 1905, succeeded in winning a restoration of constitutional government in November, 1905. The Russification policy was resumed, however, in 1908, and the conflict between the Russian bureaucracy and the defenders of the Finnish Constitution continued until the collapse of the Czarist regime in 1917.

In this struggle the Church did not present a united front to the aggressor. Its head, Archbishop Gustav Johansson, while himself an intense patriot and a rugged prophetic figure who did not hesitate to appear before the Russian authorities to condemn their illegal practices, nevertheless refused to commit the Church as such to direct opposition to the imperial government. He held that a government which violated divine justice was doomed to destruction but that it was not the Church's business to seek to force God's hand by fomenting revolution. Thus when Bobrikov ordered his unconstitutional conscription law to be read in the churches, the Archbishop complied, and the other bishops and most of the clergy followed his leadership. But many pastors, together with the rank and file of the congregations, assumed a defiant attitude. Either the law was not read, or it was read to empty pews as the congregation walked out *en masse*, or the reader's voice was drowned by the singing of "A Mighty Fortress is our God." While the Archbishop's motives cannot be impugned and his unpopular stand may in its own way have contributed much to the preservation of the Church and the nation, the fact remains that during the years of persecution the people derived their spiritual strength not from the official leadership of the Church but from the men who preferred exile in Siberia to a course of prudence.

Upon the overthrow of the Czar, Finland proclaimed herself an independent republic on December 6, 1917. The first to recognize the new state was the Bolshevik government of Russia. But independence was not fully achieved until a brief but bloody war had been fought in the spring of 1918 between the legal government and the Bolshevik-inspired and Bolshevik-aided Finnish Reds who sought to set up a Soviet republic. In this war the Church was thoroughly involved. On the one hand, the Bolsheviks showed their hatred of religion by desecrating churches and torturing and killing pastors. On the other hand, these sacrifices together with the Church's whole-hearted support of the cause of the government gave the Church a stronger hold than ever upon the majority of the population. Moreover, the fruits of the religious revival of the nineteenth century now became peculiarly manifest. The Pietistic movement, the continuation of this revival, had supplied spiritual motivation already to the passive resistance to

Bobrikov, but in the war of 1918 the Pietists played a decisive part. The war against godless Bolshevism was to them a genuine holy war. The same motivation led some Pietist leaders to participate in the anti-Communist Lapua Movement of the twenties, before this movement degenerated into lawlessness.

The two decades between the two world wars were a period of unprecedented progress for the Finnish Church and the Finnish nation. Two main factors contributed to the success of the resistance to Communist infiltration. One was the vitality of the religious attitude, which left but little opening to the Communist ideology. The other was the efficient operation of the democratic process, which actually provided the high standards of living which the Communists could only promise. It became a popular saying among the Finns that the best cure for one suffering from the "Red disease" was a visit to Russia. The position of the Church in the national life is indicated by the reaction to the Law of Religious Liberty of 1923, which permitted withdrawal from the established Church with exemption from the Church tax. Contrary to expectations, only two per cent of the population withdrew and most of these only to join some of the small denominations. When the Russian bombs fell upon Helsinki on November 30, 1939, it was thus a thoroughly united nation that went to war in self-defense. Particularly important is the fact that organized labor, represented by the Socialist party, presented a determined and unwavering front to the aggressor. Russian efforts to split the nation into a "White Guard" and a "Red Guard," as in 1918, proved utterly fruitless, and the Kuusinen puppet government set up by the Russians at Terijoki was never anything but a shadow.

As the nation of four millions, isolated and alone, went to war to protect itself against an attack by a nation of one hundred and seventy millions, the spiritual resources of the Church of Finland were directly pitted against the might of Russian imperialism. The head of the Church, Archbishop Kaila, defined the issue in these words: "The Finnish nation, through no fault of her own, has become the object of an attack which does not spare even innocent children. With a clear conscience our country with all her people has risen as one man to defend that which to us as Christians is sacred and precious. This struggle involves not only the life or death of the Finnish nation but also the freedom to proclaim the Gospel of Christ and the preservation or destruction of the Church of Finland. . . . In defending ourselves against the invader we are fighting against the enemy of Christ, the Bolshevik state. We are convinced that we are the northern vanguard of Christianity and of all western civilization."

The religious factor in the "winter war" of 1939-40 can hardly

be over-estimated. "For fatherland, home and God" was no artificial slogan. "A Mighty Fortress is our God" was once more the battle hymn of the tiny nation in danger of death. The reliance upon divine help became all the more pronounced as it became apparent that only admiration and sympathy but no military aid would come from the West. In spite of their courageous resistance the Finns knew that only a miracle would save them from complete destruction. In a sense the miracle did occur when through the Moscow Peace Treaty of March 12, 1940, Russia did permit Finland to retain her national existence, although depriving her of from ten to fourteen percent of her best territory and economic resources and rendering her helpless to resist further aggression. The Moscow Peace illustrated to the Finns the truth of Kierkegaard's word: he who asks God to help him obligates himself to accept help on God's terms, not his own. But the "ordeal by peace" was an even more severe test of faith than the war had been. Religious leaders tried to keep hope alive by saying that this was Finland's Golgotha and that Easter was sure to follow.

The day of resurrection appeared to dawn fifteen months later. On the very day that Hitler attacked Russia, June 22, 1941, the latter resumed military operations against Finland. Three days later the Finnish government declared that a state of war again existed between Russia and Finland. This time the Finns were not alone in fighting the Russians. As Hitler's armies smashed their way to the gates of Stalingrad, it seemed as though "the old bitter foe" would at last be decisively beaten and Finland's security achieved. Finland's part in the new war consisted of recapturing the Finnish territory lost in 1940 and establishing tenable defense positions in Soviet Karelia. These objectives were achieved already in 1941 and from that time to the end of the war in 1944 the army could do little else than mark time. To be sure, the early successes prompted some extreme nationalists to dream of a "Greater Finland," the re-uniting to Finland proper of eastern Karelia and other ancient Finnish territory which had long been incorporated into Russia. But the government made it plain that any war of conquest was out of the question. It also insisted that Finland was a co-belligerent with Germany in the war against Russia but not a German satellite or Axis partner. Thus, resisting German pressure, it refused to allow the Finnish army to take part in the siege of Leningrad or to cut the Leningrad-Murmansk railway. As the world war spread and the collapse of Germany drew near, Finland faced the extremely difficult problem of how to end her own separate war with Russia. To maintain armed defense was precarious but to lay down arms and surrender to Russia meant German occupation and making the country a battle ground of the Germans and the Rus-

sians. The problem was finally solved by the armistice of September 19, 1944, which forced upon Finland a peace still harsher than that of 1940. Further territorial and other concessions had to be made and a back-breaking burden of war reparations was imposed, but at least occupation had been avoided and national sovereignty retained.

The unique interest of the Church of Finland in the war of 1941-44 is graphically portrayed in a work entitled *The Crusade of the Finns*, edited by a committee of the Karelian diocese of Viipuri and published in Helsinki in 1942. The title is derived from Mannerheim's first "order of the day" at the beginning of the war, in which the commander-in-chief calls upon the soldiers of Finland to follow him on a crusade into the lost province of Karelia. "You know the enemy," he declares, "and you know his continued aims toward the destruction of our homes, our religion, and our father-land and the enslavement of our people. . . . I call you to join me in a holy war against the enemy of our nation." In another interesting document contained in the book, entitled "The Church of the World Trampled by War," Archbishop Kaila refers to "our eastern Bolshevik neighbor whose system is to its last cell and drop of blood incurably godless and idolatrous of raw force." Bishop Loimaranta of the Viipuri diocese exhorts his people to the task of rebuilding the destroyed and desecrated churches of Karelia. *The Crusade of the Finns* consists chiefly of convincing photographic evidence of this destruction and desecration of Karelian churches, with sidelights on the systematic irreligion introduced by the Bolsheviks into Soviet Karelia. The attitude of the Finnish Church is reflected in the following comments by the editors: "We in Finland have not been uncertain about the nature of Bolshevism. We have known that it represents godlessness. We have known that Russia has not permitted the Christian Church to carry out its program and that during the Bolshevik regime churches have either been empty or served other purposes. We have also known that a Society of the Godless, strongly supported by the state, has been active and that tens of thousands of priests and hundreds of thousands of other Christians have met a martyr's death. But all this knowledge had remained somewhat distant. . . . Now this appalling truth has been brought very close to us. . . . Now Bolshevism has completely unveiled its face. The fate of the churches and cemeteries of Karelia has proved to the Finnish nation in a striking way that Bolshevism is the enemy of the Cross. . . . We fight deliberate and organized godlessness and its terrorist government."

As the Finnish soldiers entered the towns and villages of recaptured Karelia, they did indeed encounter again and again evidence of violent irreligion which deliberately outraged reverence and de-

cency. Since the entire population of the ceded province had left their homes and moved into what was left of Finland, persons could not be violated, and the blasphemous fury of the conquerors had been directed against churches and cemeteries. In sharpest possible contrast to the Russian attitude was the religious spirit infused into the Finnish army by its chaplains. Virtually all the younger clergymen of the Church of Finland served as chaplains and their service was outstanding. Through both wars with Russia they not only kept the morale of the army on a high level, often under exceedingly difficult conditions, but also as personal religious counselors they brought the Church into the lives of the men of Finland in a more intimate way than probably had ever been possible before. To the chaplains was entrusted the added responsibility of evacuating the fallen from the battlefields and caring for their burial in the home parishes. This service, involving almost a hundred thousand casualties, they carried out with remarkable efficiency and earned the unique respect and gratitude of the stricken homes of the nation. The soldier graves, with their white crosses, which surround every parish church are to the Finns the holiest of ground.

Of the tasks which the clash with Russian imperialism left to the Church of Finland the most arduous has been the relocation of the Karelian parishes. When by the Moscow Peace of 1940 Karelia had to be ceded to Russia, the four hundred thousand inhabitants of the province voluntarily left their homes and fled into Finland. While the state sought to find homes and work for them in various parts of the country, the Church faced the problem of re-organizing their religious activity. It was complicated by the unwillingness of the Karelians simply to merge with the local congregations. Like ancient Israel in Babylon, they set their faces toward their own Jerusalem and looked forward to the day when God would lead them back home. Upon the reconquest of Karelia by the Finnish army in 1941 their hope came true. The Karelians returned home and set themselves to the task of rebuilding their churches. Three years later the Russians once more came into possession of the province, and the mass evacuation had to be repeated. It was not until the present year that the resettlement of the refugees and their absorption into the parishes of Finland has been completed.

Since the war the Church of Finland has had no direct contact with Russian imperialism. The fact that the Church has suffered no persecution but has been completely free to proclaim its message and carry on its work is itself proof of the genuineness of the self-government retained by the nation. The only indication of Russian interference in the religious affairs of Finland was the post-war attempt

of the Russian Church to bring the Greek Orthodox Church of Finland, comprising sixty thousand members, under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow. The little Church, which had suffered heavily during the war, including the loss of its large monastery at Valamo, was opposed to the plan, and it was abandoned. The political motivation back of the project is obvious; indeed the Russian government sought already in the days of Bobrikov to use this church as an instrument of its Russification policy.

Indirectly the Russian pressure upon the Church of Finland as well as the nation as a whole has been mediated by the Finnish Communists. During the first three post-war years Communism constituted a serious threat. The outlawed Communist party was restored and given prominent positions in government, and a secret police system of the Russian type was in operation. Today the situation is quite different. By due process of law the secret police organization has been dissolved and the Communists hold only 38 of the 200 seats in Parliament. The principal form of present Communistic activity is the fomenting of strikes designed to throw the country into an economic chaos, halt the payment of war reparations to Russia, and thus open the door to Russian intervention. So far these attempts have been unsuccessful, chiefly because of the failure of the Communists to win organized labor to their side.

Significantly enough, even during the years when the Communists had control of the government, they had sufficient respect for public opinion not to make any direct attack upon the Church. The existing tension, however, is illustrated by an episode involving the state-owned national radio, through which the Church broadcasts both Sunday services and daily morning and evening devotions. In the morning devotions on the opening day of the trial of President Ryti, Minister Tanner, and other war-time leaders as war criminals, a prominent clergyman spoke on the meaning of justice. Incensed by his remarks, the head of the radio, a Communist, sought to compel the clergy henceforth to submit the manuscripts of their radio sermons for censorship before delivery. The attempt failed and the Church has retained here too a full freedom of speech. Although no censorship exists, clergymen as well as all public speakers and writers exercise tact and seek to obey the law which prohibits slander of any foreign nation, a measure designed to avoid provocation of Russia. As the Archbishop remarked to me, "We must have more effective ways of working than uninhibited talk." One of the more effective ways has been the cultivation by the Church of a closer relationship with labor. The united effort of the war years and the work of the chaplains did much to promote mutual understanding between the

clergy and the workingmen. In spite of intense communistic agitation the vast majority of Finnish workmen are still committed to a Christian life-attitude as over against the communistic. But this advantage cannot be maintained if the Church identifies itself with political conservatism. It was this consideration that led Bishop Gulin, whose diocese contains Finland's largest industrial area, to send a pastoral letter to his clergy this year, counselling the pastors against participating in politics as representatives of minority groups in their parishes. The new trend is also indicated by the fact that the Professor of Christian Ethics in the University of Helsinki, where almost all the clergymen are trained, is an outstanding leader in the Socialist party.

Finland continues to be today, as she has been through the centuries, a strategic outpost of the free institutions of the West against the tyranny which threatens them from the East. Stripped of her military weapons, Finland continues the conflict by demonstrating in practice the superiority of the ideas and methods of true democracy. In this struggle the Church of Finland is still the integrating center of the national life. There is still truth in the words spoken by Winston Churchill ten years ago during Finland's "winter war" with Russia: "Finland, alone, in danger of death . . . shows what free men can do. The service that Finland has rendered to humanity is magnificent. We cannot say what Finland's fate will be, but nothing could be sadder to the rest of the civilized world than that this splendid northern race should at the end be destroyed. . . If the light of freedom which still burns so brightly in the frozen North should finally be quenched, it might well herald a return to the Dark Ages, when every vestige of human progress during the two thousand years would be engulfed."

OBJECTIVES AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LITURGICAL MOVEMENT IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH SINCE WORLD WAR II

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When one mentions the "liturgy" or "Liturgical Movement" a variety of strange or confusing pictures is likely to be raised in a person's mind: the hearer may have passed through some unfortunate experience and thereby acquired what he calls "anti-liturgical inclinations;" he may have visions of vestments, gestures, or ceremonies which he finds difficult to follow; he may even be ready to dismiss everything liturgical as exhibiting "Catholicizing tendencies."

The "liturgy" and the "Liturgical Movement" have been judged too often by the innovations of certain extremists *via facti*. We misunderstand the Liturgical Movement within any communion in Christendom if we judge it by its occasional expression in external matters; the deep, real revival of the liturgy in any church body is to be found in the realm of thought, i. e., in theological re-thinking. If such theological considerations are lacking it is questionable whether application of the name "Liturgical Movement" to liturgical activities is very useful.

In Roman Catholic circles, where liturgical thinking has been—along with liturgical prescriptions—solidified for centuries, the outbreak of vital, liturgical thinking has been revolutionary. The words and actions of the ministers in the cult of Roman Catholicism are most carefully prescribed by rubrics. One would not expect the introduction of anything revolutionary in ceremonial—and this, incidentally, is the only way a liturgical movement has expressed itself in certain Protestant circles. To be sure, some reforms in externals have been realized in the Roman Catholic Church, but these are not the cause for the profound, world-wide significance of the Movement today.

The primary objectives and achievements of the Movement which I intend to sketch should have a double significance for historians of the Church. They are important, and this is most apparent, because of their achievements and their continued potential for renewing the life of the Church. But when one mentions the word "renewal" or "renaissance" he indicates that what is attempted here is not the introduction of something new, but the repristination of the life, thought,

art, and to a certain extent, the practice of the early Church. One must be fully aware of the danger involved in any interest in repristination: any attempt to duplicate the doctrine or practice of earlier centuries is bound to fail because of the historical conditionedness of all doctrine and practice. In the Liturgical Movement we meet a desire to employ historical research in determining the meaning of texts and rites in the early source material. This study, by revealing the nature and inspiration of early practice, frees the Church from the accretions of medieval practice and the deadening influence of liturgical regulations, especially those of Trent.¹

Several examples will illustrate the significance of this historical research. Study of the words, actions, and symbolism of the Holy Saturday liturgy now celebrated on Saturday morning make it apparent that this vigil had in the early Church been celebrated during the night of Easter. Gradually it shifted to late Saturday evening, then Saturday evening, then Saturday afternoon, and finally to Saturday morning, when few people attend—and few of these appreciate the words and actions. Now, in the interest of furthering participation, voices are being raised throughout the Church for the restoration of the earlier practice, so that by midnight one could follow the vigil with the Mass of Easter.² The first German Liturgical Congress, which met in Frankfurt during June, 1950, petitioned the German hierarchy to ask the Holy See for the privilege of celebrating the vigil during the paschal night.³ Another faulty development involves the Canon of the Mass: in early practice the prayers of the Canon were recited aloud and the people indicated their assent by joining in the "Amen." Priest and people sang the *Sanctus*, and only after this was finished did the priest or bishop begin the *Te igitur*. When the Roman Mass was transplanted to Frankish territory and the *Sanctus* came to be, with its long, elaborate melodies, sung by the clerics assisting in choir, the celebrant thought it a waste of time to wait until its completion and therefore began the recitation of the *Te igitur* in a low voice so as not to disrupt the singing and to express the sacred character of the prayer. Josef Jungmann in his *Missarum Solennia* sees this development as first apparent about the middle of the eighth century.⁴ It marks a beginning which had important consequences for subsequent liturgical developments. Theodor Klauser, another great liturgical scholar, at the conclusion of his "Brief History of the Liturgy in the West," points to this event and says, "How many occurrences in the slipping and sliding process have come about since the time when the Canon began to be recited silently! Indeed one may say that this seemingly slight divergence from the ancient tradition has in natural consequence determined the entire course of development in Christian piety in

subsequent centuries and has brought about all those features which many now regret."⁵

These are two examples to illustrate how historical scholarship has served to clarify liturgical practice and participation.⁶ The volumes of the *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* and of *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen* contain only a part of the research in the early Christian liturgy. In its scholarly publications the Movement has made advances—especially in Germany—which have been equalled by advances in practice in only a few countries, in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and recently in France. The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church is not interested in introducing new practices, but in restoring to the Church's worship its old meaning and glory. This aspect of the Movement may be summarized in the phrase *nova ex veteribus*, new things from the old. This attempt to gain light from the past for contemporary practices may be said to characterize and unify each of the objectives which will be described here. The attitude toward the early Church is summarized very well by Athanasius Wintersig when he writes:

The Liturgical Movement has in general a manifest sympathy for early Christianity. Not as though it would return to that period and live in it. But it is committed to the struggle for a new beginning in religious life, indeed, this struggle breaks forth in it with primitive power. Therefore it has an affinity for the period of beginnings: *rebirth*. This grasping at the past is only a means, not a real end. We wish to understand the liturgy not with an antiquarian interest, but to experience it anew. The early Christians must show us how to make the Catholic religious life develop in us organically. In that respect they show themselves to be Fathers, since they beget life in us anew. The life itself is eternal, beyond time, for it is from God.⁷

Wintersig's statement suggests another central, in fact *the* central interest of the Movement: the desire for an explicit faith on the part of the faithful. It is an interest in promoting *understanding* in the liturgical action and prayers and in encouraging *active participation* in the rites. It is not being unfair to Roman Catholic practice to say that emphasis has been placed in its teaching on the apologetic approach and on the approach through dogma and morals. When intellectual life has been nourished in this way, spiritual life is nourished by any of a number of popular devotions, e.g., to Christ in the tabernacle, to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Mary, novenas, rosary devotions, etc. A religious life which is centered in the subjective forms of modern piety is possible, according to representatives of the Liturgical Renaissance, only when the objective, formed prayer of the Church's official liturgy has become meaningless to the people. The people testify to their lack of comprehension at Mass by their attendance at the shortest low Mass on Sunday, and in many cases they attend this only because of the grave obligation of law. While at Mass they may say private, unrelated

prayers, or recite the rosary.⁸ Pope Pius XI in his apostolic constitution *Divini Cultus* (Dec. 20, 1928) speaks of them as behaving "like strangers or mute spectators."⁹

A whole series of factors is involved in this situation, and we cannot begin to discuss them in connection with our present topic. What is highly relevant here is the fact that the Liturgical Movement acknowledges this state of affairs, and is using every possible means to correct it. It is combatting what it sees as a medieval heritage of the Church, an inheritance both confirmed and aggravated in the unnaturally elongated Gothic cathedrals. Dom Paul Chauvin, at the time prior of Sainte Marie, is reported by Dom Virgil Michel, late "father" of the Movement in America and first editor of the monthly *Orate Fratres*, to have said the following when speaking about the new architecture inspired by the liturgy:

Formerly, the mystery of the sacred rites loved to conceal itself in the dense shade of the long and high naves enwrapped in the subdued colors of the stained glass windows. The people, who had no books, were satisfied to witness the ceremonies at a distance, where they could hear nothing but an indistinct echo of them. It seems to me that in our own day we are less easily satisfied with such a state of affairs. Individualistic piety still seeks out the obscure corner of some pillar; but the piety that is inspired by the idea of the Communion of Saints desires union, and consequently seeks to see and to understand. . . .¹⁰

The task of the Liturgical Movement, at the same time difficult and rich with promise, has been to lead the faithful into the unknown land of liturgical rites and texts. It has found treasures there which have transformed the religion of the members of this *collegium pietatis*¹¹ from "eine Religion zweiter Ordnung," as Adolph Harnack used this phrase to describe the formula-centered religion of much of Eastern Orthodoxy, into a revitalized religion of explicit faith centered in the grace transmitted through the sacraments. One means which offers a partial solution is instruction in and use of the Missal. The Liturgical Movement has been responsible for the vast sales of the Missal, the translation of which into the vernacular was expressly forbidden as late as 1851 and 1857.¹² The various editions—Msgr. Stedman's *My Sunday Missal*, *The Leaflet Missal*, Knox, Schott, Bomm, *Avec le Christ*, Dom Lefebvre's *Missel*, *Das kleine Messbuch* in Austria, and a host of others—have now reached many millions of people. Use of the Missal has caused a great number of these to feel less like strangers at Mass and has served as an outstanding teaching device.¹³

Yet "following" the Mass with the Missal is not the *desideratum* of the Liturgical Renaissance: the cleavage between altar and nave is still not broken by the interchange of voices between priest and congregation. Use of the Missal is a stage on the way to full partici-

pation. A significant beginning was made with the introduction of the Dialog Mass, in which the people join the server in the short responses and in reciting the *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus-Benedictus*, and *Agnus Dei*. It was the celebration of such a Mass on a simple wooden altar arranged for a celebration *facie versus ad populum* in the crypt of Maria Laach during Holy Week of 1914 that marks the beginning of the Liturgical Movement in Germany—in fact, marks the beginning of the entire Movement as it exists today.¹⁴ In the celebration of the *missa recitata* or its variations liturgists see a return to early Christian practice of congregational assistance in the action: the faithful follow the popular catchword, "Do not pray in the Mass, pray the Mass." The free-standing altar at which the celebrant faces the people is also endorsed as a return to usage in the old Roman basilican churches; it emphasizes the union of priest and people in offering the Sacrifice, enables the people to see the action of the priest, and permits the priest to address his people in a more natural manner.¹⁵

However, the Dialog Mass is again only a step toward the ideal, the summit of Christian life, the *missa cantata*, or sung Mass.¹⁶ It serves as a means to promote participation, since, as General Ellard writes, "*High Mass*, for the average Catholic, is something very rare and exceptional; modern Catholics are at *low Mass* fifty or one hundred times for once at *high Mass*."¹⁷ Yet only a Mass in which the schola sings the proper and the congregation joins in singing the ordinary approximates the practice of the ancient Church. Only such a Mass has a true communal character, and celebrations of this kind, especially in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and France, have been stirring experiences for the worshipper.

It is this remarkable renewal of religious life by means of the liturgy which explains the *missionary* use of the liturgy in France since the second World War. The problems of cult, which had been a positive difficulty to a cultic community, have been overcome in such a way that in the new *Mission de France*, founded in 1941, and the *Mission de Paris*, founded in 1943, the Mass of the priest-workman is the integrating force in his work.¹⁸ In Father Michonneau's parish at Colombes¹⁹ and in that of the late Father Remilleux at Lyon²⁰ the people have been formed into a worshipping community, and the priests have administered the sacraments and sacramentals in such a way that interest is created in understanding their meaning.

The importance of these efforts toward gaining the explicit faith in the Roman Catholic Church today cannot be minimized. In the recent comprehensive survey of the status of the Movement made from Maria Laach, *Liturgische Erneuerung in aller Welt*, Father Walter Heim has determined the achievements of the Movement in Switzerland

in terms of a statistical report on the number of parishes in which the faithful themselves offer the Mass—especially the *Singmesse* and *Betsingmesse*—and where such participation is compromised by the old forms of piety, such as the rosary or stational devotions.²¹ Not only in Switzerland, but in Germany, Austria, Belgium, Holland, and France a large percentage of the Masses are either recited or sung by the parish community,²² whereas in America, as the editor of *Orate Fratres* writes, “each case is still news.”²³

The achievement of these results—limited, to be sure, in view of the objective of the sung Mass in the vernacular—has not been accomplished without considerable friction at different times and places. Msgr. Gfoellner, Bishop of Linz, in his stirring *Monitum de Vitandis Exagerationibus in re Liturgia*²⁴ warned, “The Liturgical Movement exhibits ever and again regrettable aberrations.”²⁵ He proceeds to disallow certain tendencies of the Movement, among them suppression of the practice of praying the rosary during Mass. He declares:

The praying of the holy rosary dare not be crowded out of the holy Mass as an “unliturgical” prayer; on the contrary, there is hardly a Catholic Mass-devotion which in such a concise, plain, and popular manner renders clear the nature and the meaning of the holy Mass as just this prayer of the rosary. The holy Mass is the mystical representation and renewal not of the suffering alone, but of the entire redemptive life . . .—mysteries which are commemorated in the three-fold rosary. If for the month of October Leo XIII specifically prescribed the holy rosary during the holy Mass, no Liturgical Movement has the right to crowd it out of the Mass.²⁶

The recent encyclical of Pope Pius XII on the liturgy, *Mediator Dei* (Nov. 20, 1947), again evidences the extreme conservatism of Rome in liturgical matters. It warns representatives of the Renaissance not to proceed too rapidly in encouraging participation and not to be too harsh on the “little ones.” In its statement on this subject the old interest in the merits or fruits obtainable by the worshipper in the Mass is evident; a definite clash of interest is apparent between the aims of the Liturgical Movement and the complacent attitude adopted in this “authoritative guidance:”

Many of the faithful are unable to use the Roman missal even though it is written in the vernacular; nor are all capable of understanding correctly the liturgical rites and formulas . . . Who, then, would say, on account of such a prejudice, that all these Christians cannot participate in the Mass or share its fruits? On the contrary, they can adopt some other method which proves easier for certain people; for instance, they can lovingly meditate on the mysteries of Jesus Christ or perform other exercises of piety or recite prayers which, though they differ from the sacred rites, are still essentially in harmony with them.²⁷

Many other concerns of the Movement, of almost equal significance as this desire for participation at Mass, should be discussed in connection with the quest for an explicit faith. The Movement is interested in the giving of Communion *during* Mass, rather than from

the tabernacle *before* Mass;²⁸ it has carried on a campaign against the abuses of private Masses;²⁹ where conditions suggest the need, it has often urged and received permission for celebration of afternoon and evening Mass;³⁰ it has urged a thoroughgoing reform of, and lay participation in, the divine office;³¹ it has sought to revive the significance of the Church year.³² On all sides it has sought to determine the meaning of the Church's official liturgy and to make this meaning fruitful to the worshipper.

Yet there is general consensus of opinion within the Movement that the desired understanding can never be attained until another objective is reached—a maximum of vernacular in the liturgy. Every effort may be exerted to make the celebration less careless and hasty, to explain the rites, and to give the laity the part that is their due in the celebration, but so long as the language barrier remains only partial results can be attained. One is attempting, as Paul Doncoeur pointed out at the International Liturgical Congress at Maastricht in 1946, to get the Christian people actively to participate in a cult in which they understand nothing.³³ Father H. A. Reinhold, the German-educated leader of the Movement in America, expresses the nature of this problem most aptly, yet cautions that the objectives of the Renewal must not be prejudiced by entanglement with a perilous issue:

That the movement for the vernacular can be completely separate from a good and thorough liturgical apostolate is obvious—provided we are willing to do it all the hard way, and to cut popular participation in the liturgy to about fifty percent of what could be achieved if the people had immediate access to the raw material for their spirituality. We must be extremely careful to make this point clear. Otherwise the apostolate itself would be discredited if, for some reason, a halt were to be called to the vernacular question.³⁴

It should be clear that this objective is not viewed as the introduction of an innovation: rather it is proposed as a return to the practice of classical Christianity. The language of Jesus at the Last Supper was supposedly Aramaic; the languages of the early Christian liturgies were the Koine, Aramaic, or Coptic; then in North Africa and Rome the transition was gradually made to Latin; but a comparable change was not made when the liturgy was transferred to Northern Europe, as it was later in the work of S.S. Cyril and Methodius among the Slavs. Regret is voiced in the Liturgical Movement that St. Boniface or some later figure did not succeed in healing the schism between the vernacular and liturgical languages.³⁵ When the breach was belatedly healed at the time of the Reformation, doctrinal aberrations and schism had become so entrangled in, and had so compromised the issue that the Church has not seen fit to deal with the problem until our own day. Karl Adam expresses the common attitude towards Luther's liturgical work—except for his attack on the sac-

rificial character of the Mass and on the sacramental system—in the following language:

If Martin Luther had arisen at this moment and had employed the marvelous gifts of his spirit and his heart, his inspired understanding of Christianity, his passionate defiance against what is neither holy nor divine, the elemental force of his religious experience, the seductive and piercing vigor of his language, and (this is not his meanest quality) that heroic courage with which he rose to oppose the powers of his time, if he had employed all these magnificent qualities to eliminate the crying abuse of the Church of his day, and to extirpate the weeds in the garden of God, if he had remained, further, a faithful member of his Church, humble and simple, correct and pure, how we yet today would kiss his hand in gratitude! He would be and remain our great reformer, our dear minister of God, our doctor and our guide, comparable to a Thomas Aquinas and a Francis of Assisi. He would be, yet greater even than these two, the greatest saint of our people, a second Boniface. . . . ³⁶

Representatives of the Movement are not fully agreed upon the extent of vernacular desired in the liturgy, or on the expediency of presenting these *desiderata* at the present time.³⁷ Yet the program of the English Liturgy Society may be taken as fairly representative. They suggest that baptism, churching, marriage, visitation of the sick, reception of converts, extreme unction, funerals, and the blessings of the *Rituale* should be in English; since these are personal in character and always directed toward individuals they will thereby be more understandable to the participant. Vespers and compline are desired in English, as well as the blessing of candles, ashes, and palms, and the prayers and hymns at Benediction. Regarding the Mass, some would wish the entire Mass, including the Canon, to be ultimately in English.³⁸

Considerable progress has been made in the introduction of the vernacular in various countries; interest has centered about the texts of the *Rituale* since these are considered as crucial, or as an entering wedge, in the matter of participation. The Sacred Congregation of Rites has shown willingness to grant permission on a diocesan, regional, or national basis. By far the most significant grant was made to the German hierarchy in 1949 when the Congregation of Rites approved a uniform Ritual for Germany in which German is permitted except for the sacramental formulae, which remain in Latin.³⁹ Similar extensive use of German at baptism, marriages, and funerals is found in Austria and Switzerland. In French-speaking territories permission has been more limited, and in English-speaking lands the respective hierarchies have not made similar requests in Rome. The German hierarchy has also been asked to petition the Holy See that the epistle and gospel be read in the vernacular at all parish Masses.⁴⁰ Perhaps only when the Mass is celebrated as it is by the priest-workmen, who

have been granted permission to say it in the vernacular, except for the Canon, will the desired understanding be conveyed.

Another objective of the Liturgical Renaissance has been the restoration of pure Gregorian chant, particularly the method revived at Solesmes during the last century. Considerable dissatisfaction is shown with the low estate of choir and congregational singing; where the chant is used it is far removed from the high standards of the Solesmian revival.

It may be well to point out that not all promoters of the Liturgical Movement are enthusiasts for Gregorian chant, nor are all Gregorianists fully conscious of the nature and aims of the Liturgical Movement. Some doubt whether Gregorian music, with its difficult neumes and unfamiliar modes, can ever be restored as a popular music today: they have shown interest in the adaptation of folksong melodies, in the composition of new melodies, in settings inspired by Gregorian, or in the German chorale.⁴¹ But the Gregorian revival has been most closely associated with the Liturgical Movement. Both are concerned with participation in the sacred rites and both recognize as their ideal the same period, the "Springtime of Christianity."

It is held that no other music is so reverent as this inheritance from the early Church; it is impersonal, a perfect wedding of text and music, whereby not the human voice but God is glorified; Gregorian should be the model of all Church music.

Relatively few parishes and dioceses in English-speaking countries can boast of congregational singing at Mass. In a few notable exceptions the people have been taught several of the easier settings of the ordinary, while a trained schola near the sanctuary sings the more difficult proper and leads the congregation in singing. Where children can be taught the chant in school by able instructors, as in Holy Cross Parish in St. Louis, the singing is full-throated and beautiful.⁴²

The Movement has at the same time encouraged and received strength from certain theological considerations related to the liturgy. One of these is the new prominence given the general or lay priesthood of the faithful. The entire congregation offers the divine Victim. The very nature of the Sacrifice demands that the laity have a real part; they are given a new dignity in public worship.

The reformers of the sixteenth century are criticized not because they insisted on the priesthood of the laity, but because they nullified the special priesthood of Holy Orders. By denying the reality of sacrifice they robbed the lay priesthood of all meaning.⁴³ In order to avoid the emphasis on the priesthood of the laity to the exclusion of Holy Orders as this found expression in Montanism, Waldensianism,

Wyclifism, Lutheranism, and later Protestant developments, theologians from Trent to the present have placed their emphasis on Holy Orders. It is held that there is danger today of clericalism and not of laicism: no serious attack has been made on the consecratory powers of the priesthood, but on the contrary people have become so apathetic in their exercise of priestly functions that there is a definite need to recall them to their responsibility. By so doing one is simply returning to the close relationship between laity and clergy prevalent during the "Jugendzeit der Kirche."⁴⁴

The customary qualifications attached to the priesthood of the laity when this has been described in dogmatic treatises, such as that it is a metaphorical priesthood, a mystical priesthood, a "sacerdotium improprie dictum," are quite unsatisfactory. For example, the article of Pohle on "priesthood" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* does not give the layman his full dignity. He writes:

. . . this, however, by no means excludes a special priesthood but rather presupposes its existence, since the two are related as the general and the particular, the abstract and the concrete, the figurative and the real. The ordinary Christian cannot be a priest in the strict sense, for he can offer, not a real sacrifice, but only the figurative sacrifice of prayer . . . The history of dogma attests, on the contrary, that both ideas advanced harmoniously through the centuries, and have never disappeared from the Catholic mind.⁴⁵

In the expressions of the Liturgical Movement on the subject the priesthood of Holy Orders is approached through the prior priesthood of Christ and the related priesthood of the members of His Mystical Body. The name "priest" was originally confined to Christ alone. He was the *hierens archihierens*. Through Him the community of the faithful gains access to the Father. Therefore the name "priest" is applied in its secondary significance to the fellowship of the faithful, the "royal priesthood" of I Pet. 2, 5. Only in the third place, after several generations, did the old name come to be applied to those who had a special function to perform and therefore a privileged share in the priesthood of Christ. They are representatives and spokesmen of the Body of Christ. In the Canon they speak for the entire assembly which *together* offers the Sacrifice to God: *offerimus praeclarae Majestati tuae haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia*. In the practice of the ancient Church, and again today as it has been revived in the Liturgical Movement, this offering on the part of the whole parish is symbolized by the bringing of gifts in the offertory procession.⁴⁶

Mediator Dei treats the matter of lay participation in the priesthood and emphasizes the special prerogatives of those endowed with priestly power. No confirmation or ratification of the Sacrifice is necessary on the part of the faithful in order that it may have its full force and value.⁴⁷ It condemns those who:

. . . hold that the command by which Christ gave power to His apostles

at the Last Supper to do what He Himself had done, applies directly to the entire Christian Church, and that thence, and thence only, arises the hierarchical priesthood. Hence they assert that the people are possessed of true priestly power, while the priest only acts in virtue of an office committed to him by the community. Wherefore, they look on the eucharistic sacrifice as a "concelebration," in the literal meaning of that term, and consider it more fitting that priests should "concelebrate" with the people present than that they should offer the sacrifice privately when the people are absent.⁴⁸

The starting point and consequent evaluation of the priesthood of the laity differs decidedly in this authoritative direction from the interests of the Liturgical Movement. Neither the name *priest* nor the more important dignity of priestly power and status remain to the laity according to the Encyclical. Yet the Liturgical Renaissance, by attempting to restore to the faithful their dignity as a holy people and a royal priesthood, has been rendering a service of inestimable value to the Roman Catholic Church.⁴⁹

As a final objective and achievement to be described here, mention should be made of the contribution of the Apostolate to ecclesiology. It is natural that a rethinking of the liturgy should involve also a rethinking of the Church: this has been true wherever a thoroughgoing Liturgical Movement has arisen. Hermann Sasse aptly describes this work of the Movement as follows:

While the Vatican Council had started to create—the end is not yet—a modern Roman Catholic doctrine of the Church, the liturgical movement was giving its answer to the question, "What is the Church?", in exceedingly impressive and practical terms: The Church is there where the congregation of Christian believers gathers as *ecclesia orans* (the praying Church) about the altar; where the Body of the Lord is received with the mouth in the Holy Communion, there is the Church as the Body of Christ.⁵⁰

The contributions of the Movement in this field evidence a decided dependence on the criticisms of men standing under the influence of the Aufklärung, especially J. M. Sailer and Hirscher. Waldemar Trapp in "Der Ursprung der liturgischen Bewegung" says of the Aufklärung, "it is amazing to note how far, outwardly, their efforts paralleled those of the present Liturgical Movement."⁵¹ But it was German Romanticism which brought to theology its emphasis on organic unity, on tradition, and on the communal life of the Church. It was the theology of the Tübingen theologian Johann Adam Moehler which was to be especially fruitful for the Liturgical Movement. Moehler was deeply influenced by the thought of the early Fathers on the Church and was attracted by their conception of the divine life which animates the Church. An historian of the Movement, Dom Olivier Rousseau, writes: "Ecclesiologically above all the Tübingen movement laid the foundations, slowly but amply, of a liturgical renaissance which tarried, perhaps, in coming, but was because of this so much the more substantial."⁵²

When speaking of the Church Abbot Herwegen shows his close relationship to Moehler's thought. One does not know the Church, Herwegen says, when he sees it as a legal institution as described in canon law, or as the authoritative source and guide of morals. It is only when one enters the Mystery-life of the Church, beginning with the Mystery of baptism and proceeding through the nourishment of the holy Eucharist, to the last unction, that the real character of the Church is revealed to him. It is of the nature of the Church to be filled with the divine life of Christ made available to men through the Mysteries of the liturgy.⁵³

When in 1942 Msgr. Conrad Groeber, Archbishop of Freiburg, addressed a memorandum to his colleagues of the German hierarchy scoring a number of deviations of the "liturgically moved", one of the points he attacked was the new conception of the Church. He claimed that one no longer saw in her the *societas perfecta*, the *Regnum Christi in terris auctoritate apostolica regendum*, but a species of biological organism.⁵⁴ However, in the next year Pope Pius XII officially sanctioned this teaching in the encyclical *Mystici corporis Christi* (June 29, 1943).⁵⁵ Clarification of the doctrine of the Mystical Body is found today wherever there is instruction in the theology of the liturgy.

In comparison with the prevalent conception of the Church this teaching comes as something radically new. For the average Roman Catholic the Church is, as one leader expressed it, a "well-oiled, precise juggernaut of perfect organization with a propaganda front, a party line ('deviationists' to be shunned), and complete absorption of the individual."⁵⁶ Admission is freely made that for many of the faithful the Church is a ministration in sacred things; they see nothing in it except its exterior characteristics, its hierarchical organization. It is an establishment to which one goes when he needs certain aid.⁵⁷ Against this view of the Church the Liturgical Movement reacts. Before the organizational aspect of the Church is its structure as a living body possessing the sacramental life of the liturgical Mysteries.

If time were to permit, certain other significant areas touched by the Liturgical Renaissance should be dealt with: particularly should the rich *Mysterientheologie*, the work of monks of Maria Laach and especially the late Dom Odo Casel, by which the theology of the sacraments and sacramentals is drawn together in a new unity, be treated. It shares with the preceding objectives the fact that it is presented as a return to the early Church; however, the very fact that it is difficult to give it adequate presentation has resulted in its limited extension and acceptance. Other factors might be presented: the historical background and connection with earlier movements; the manner in which it has attempted to animate Catholic Action and restore society through

the liturgy; its rich expression in the liturgical arts—in bold, new churches giving expression to the sacramental system, and in the revitalized decorative arts; nor has attention been given to the new *rapprochement* with separated brethren of the liturgical churches of the West and the Eastern Orthodox Church.

A Movement which began thus so modestly at Maria Laach now has world-wide significance. One may be misled by the inadequate title "Liturgical Movement" to think that this is an inconsequential concern for external matters of cult, whereas it is in reality a renaissance of vital Christian forces. Examination of the many editions of the Missal and of popular literature make it apparent that the Movement has already touched the religious life of millions of people in scores of lands. In Germany, for example, hardly a diocesan prayer or hymn book which has been revised since the Second World War fails to show the influence of the Liturgical Revival.⁵⁸ As a whole, the Movement bears rich promise of renewing the spiritual life of the Roman Catholic Church.

1 Cf. Dom Odo Casel, "Altehrchristlicher Kult und Antike," *Mysterium, Gesammelte Arbeiten Laacher Mönche* (Münster i. Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1926), pp. 26-28.

2 Cf. Msgr. Martin B. Hellriegel, "The Mother of All Vigils," *Proceedings of the National Liturgical Week, 1948* (Conception, Mo.: The Liturgical Conference, Inc., 1949), pp. 119-130.

3 Josef A. Jungmann, S. J., "Der erste deutsche liturgische Kongress," *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXLVI (August, 1950), 387.

4 (Wien: Verlag Herder, 1949), II, 126-128; 156-159; 168-169.

5 *Orate Fratres*, XXIII (1948-49), 7-17, 61-67, 116-121, 154-160; quotation from p. 160.

6 Such research has also served to accentuate the indebtedness of the Christian liturgy to civil ceremonial. The lesson Father Klausner draws from this is in keeping with the emphasis on the content of the liturgy mentioned above: "This new insight into the secular origin of these external elements in the liturgy might well prevent us from attaching too much importance to these things. For not rarely does it seem that over-emphasis of such externals distracts the mind of the faithful from the sublime interior values of the liturgy." *Ibid.*, p. 17.

7 Quoted by Walter Birnbaum, *Die katholische liturgische Bewegung: Darstellung und Kritik* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1926), pp. 96-97.

8 Cf. P. Theodor Bogler, O.S.B., member of the important Liturgical Commission

inaugurated by the German hierarchy, "Zum Verständnis," *Liturgische Erneuerung in aller Welt. Ein Sammelbericht* (Maria Laach: Verlag *Ars liturgica*, 1950), p. 11: "Dem sachlich überlegenden Menschen wird es völlig eindeutig sein, dass, wenn man zur Feier des Herrenmahles 'eingeladen' ist, man dabei nicht etwas Andersartiges tun dürfe, was zu jener Feier in keiner unmittelbaren Beziehung steht. Ein solches Verhalten verbietet im gesellschaftlichen Bereich der gewöhnlichste Anstand. Jeder weltliche Gastgeber würde es als eine grobe Verletzung seines Gastrechtes ansehen, wenn die geladenen Gäste zwar in das Haus des Freundes kämen, sich auch mit ihm zu Tische setzten, jedoch durch ihr lautes privates Gespräch oder durch das Singen ihrer Lieder die Tischgemeinschaft stören wollten. Dass das mutatis mutandis heute immer noch der Fall in vielen Gemeinden der Weltkirche ist, wird offenbar übersehen. Da aber liegt, ganz simpel und primitiv gesprochen, der Sinn der Liturgischen Erneuerung. Sie versucht, die Gläubigen wieder zu dem hinaufzuführen, was in den heiligen Handlungen wesentlich geschieht."

9 (Conception, Mo.: Altar and Home Press, 1945), p. 28.

10 "Architecture and the Liturgy," *Liturgical Arts*, V (1935-36), 13-18.

11 For a discussion of this sociological classification as it applies to the Liturgical Movement cf. Ernest B. Koenker, *The Liturgical Movement in the Roman Catholic Church* (Chicago: Unpublished

- dissertation, University of Chicago, 1950), pp. 6-8.
- 12 Gerald Ellard, S. J., *The Mass of the Future* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1948), p. 128.
 - 13 Cf. Msgr. Stedman, "The Liturgy in Military Life," *Proceedings of the National Liturgical Week, 1944*, pp. 99-112.
 - 14 Cf. Dom Damasus Winzen, "Progress and Tradition in Maria Laach Art," *Liturgical Arts*, X (1941-42), 20. This may be said in spite of the fact that the Dialog Mass was transferred to Germany from Belgium. The research and understanding achieved at Maria Laach served to give the Movement its present distinctive character.
 - 15 Cf. Bishop Rémond of Nice, "Messe face au peuple," *La Maison-Dieu*, VIII (1946), 83.
 - 16 Cf. Dom Lambert Beauduin, "La Messe chantée, sommet de la vie paroissiale," and Dom Bernard de Chabannes, "Messe dialoguée ou messe chantée," *La Maison-Dieu*, IV (1945), 104-123; 124-128.
 - 17 *Ibid.*, p. 202.
 - 18 Cf. Maisie Ward, *France Pagan?* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1949), *passim*.
 - 19 Cf. R. P. Chéry, O. P., "Une liturgie vivante et missionnaire," *Paroisse communauté missionnaire* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1945), pp. 63-101.
 - 20 Cf. Chéry, *Communauté paroissiale et liturgie, Notre-Dame Saint Alban* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1947).
 - 21 Pp. 61-68.
 - 22 Alphonse Heitz in his important "Dernières étapes du renouveau liturgique allemand," *La Maison-Dieu*, VII (1946), 66, estimated that in seventy-five percent of the parishes community Masses had been introduced. Father Heim's figures for Switzerland exceed this estimate.
 - 23 XXI (1946-47), 524.
 - 24 *Periodica de re morali canonica liturgia*, XXVII (1938), 163-167.
 - 25 *Ibid.*, p. 163.
 - 26 *Ibid.*, p. 165.
 - 27 (New York: The America Press, 1948), Par. 108.
 - 28 Cf., e. g., William A. Griffin, Bishop of Trenton, "An Episcopal Instruction," *Orate Fratres*, XXI (1946-47), 35.
 - 29 Cf. Karl Rahner, S. J., *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, LXXI (Fall, 1949), No. 3.
 - 30 Cf. Ellard, "How Near Is Evening Mass?" *American Ecclesiastical Review*, CXXII (May 5, 1950), 331-344.
 - 31 Number twenty-one of *La Maison-Dieu* is devoted in its entirety to the treasures of the divine office and possibilities of reform. Cf. also Dom Pius Parsch, *Le Breviaire expliqué dans l'esprit du renouveau liturgique* (Mulhouse, Haut-Rhin: Editions Salvator, 1947).
 - 32 The works by Schuster, Parsch, Loehr, Hellriegel, and others on the Church year have enjoyed a wide sale.
 - 33 Eligius Dekkers, O. S. B., "Belgien und Holland," *Liturgische Erneuerung in aller Welt*, p. 44.
 - 34 "Two Suggestions," *Orate Fratres*, XXI (1946-47), 229.
 - 35 Cf. Josef Jungmann, *Missarum Solemnia*, I, 57 ff.; 65; 103-104.
 - 36 *Vers l'unité chrétienne du point de vue catholique* (Paris: Aubier, 1949), p. 43. The German original was not available to the writer at the time of writing.
 - 37 Cf. the eleventh number of *La Maison-Dieu* devoted to "Langues et traductions liturgiques."
 - 38 Rev. S. J. Gosling, "The Parish Priest and the Vernacular," *The English Liturgist*, IX (March, 1950), 12.
 - 39 *The English Liturgist*, IX (March, 1950), pp. 25-26.
 - 40 Josef Jungmann, "Der erste deutsche liturgische Kongress," *op. cit.*, p. 387.
 - 41 Cf. J. Gelineau, "Enquête sur le chant religieux," *La Maison-Dieu*, XIII (1948), 93-96.
 - 42 Cf. Hellriegel, "A Pastor's Description of Participation," *Proceedings of the National Liturgical Week, 1941*, pp. 82-92. It should be noted that this was written ten years ago, and after the pastor had been at Holy Cross for only one year.
 - 43 Dom Godfrey Dieckmann, "With Christ in the Mass," *Proceedings of the National Liturgical Week, 1947*, p. 47.
 - 44 H. Vogels, *Hochland*, XXXIII (1935-36), 289 ff.
 - 45 XII, 415.
 - 46 Jungmann, "Christus-Gemeinde-Priester," Karl Borgmann, ed., *Folksliturgie und Seelsorge* (Colmar im Elsass: Alsatia Verlag, 1943), pp. 27-28.
 - 47 Par. 95.
 - 48 Par. 83.
 - 49 Cf. Jungmann, "We Offer," *Orate Fratres*, XXIV (1949-50), 97-102.
 - 50 "Liturgy and Lutheranism," *Una Sancta*, VIII (Annunciation, 1948), 7.
 - 51 *Liturgische Zeitschrift*, IV (1931-32), 2.
 - 52 *Histoire du mouvement liturgique* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1945), p. 80.
 - 53 *Mysterium, Gesammelte Arbeiten Laacher Mönche*, pp. 4-5.
 - 54 "Memorandum de S. E. Mgr. Groeber, Archevêque de Fribourg," *La Maison-Dieu*, VII (1947), 99.
 - 55 (New York: The Paulist Press).
 - 56 H. A. Reinhold, "Monolithic Catholicism," *Orate Fratres*, XXIII (1948-49), 215.
 - 57 Romano Guardini, *L'Esprit de la liturgie* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1929). This translation of Guardini's epoch-making work was made by Robert d'Harcourt and accompanied by an excellent introduction, to which reference is made here, pp. 5-9, "Le Mouvement liturgique dans L'Allemagne d'après-guerre et Romano Guardini."
 - 58 Bogler, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

PIETIST AND PURITAN SOURCES OF EARLY
PROTESTANT WORLD MISSIONS*
(COTTON MATHER AND A. H. FRANCKE)

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It is one of the peculiarities of the writing of Protestant church history that the history of Christian missions since the Reformation plays a very unimportant part within the general historical scene. The religious and theological conflicts on the European continent and the beginnings of churches in North America have claimed all the interest of the historians so that the history of missions has appeared to be a kind of subordinate subject. The reason for this under-emphasizing of the history of Protestant missions is first of all the fact that there existed, as a kind of insuperable prejudice, the opinion that the Reformers—Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and Zwingli—were not interested at all in Christian missions. Only the latest turn of ecclesiastical historiography has included Christian missions again in general church history and put them in the place which they deserve.

To Kenneth Scott Latourette and his seven volumes of *The History of the Expansion of Christianity*¹ we owe the fact that there is available a total picture of the life and growth of the Christian Churches in which the history of missions is considered to be the most important expression of the life of the Church. His seven volumes prove the thesis that church history is essentially the history of missions.

Now the rediscovery of this knowledge and the restoration of the right relation of church history and the history of missions as it has been done by Latourette has to find its place in the whole of modern church history also.² On the whole, our historical thinking is still dominated by the old prejudices and there are many gaps in the researches of ecclesiastical history which will have to be filled. The reason for the existence of these gaps is that our historical eye has been too dim to see the connections between church history and the history of missions.

This is true in the very beginnings of Protestant missions, although, generally speaking, the events are dated and known. They concern the beginnings of the Lutheran mission in East India,³ which

*Translated by Luise Jockers.

spread in Tranquebar under the protection of the king of Denmark, Frederick IV, and under the spiritual leadership of August Hermann Francke and the Pietism of Halle. The most important personalities of this mission were the missionaries Ziegenbalg and Pluetschow.

The beginnings of Protestant missions also involve the work in "West India" among the Indians of the New England colonies, to which the spontaneous missionary efforts of the Puritans as well as of Count Ludwig von Zinzendorf and of the Moravians contributed.

According to the current opinion of historians, these two missionary attempts in "West and East India," appear to have developed without inner or outer connection. The correspondence of August Hermann Francke, however, gives a totally new picture of the beginnings of Protestant missions of the 18th century. The astonishing result of a study of this correspondence is the fact that there was indeed an inner connection between the Protestant Lutheran mission in East India and the missionary attempts of the Puritans of New England, e.g. Eliot and Cotton Mather, in "West India."

This connection was first of all a personal one. There existed a personal correspondence between Cotton Mather, the leader of Boston Puritanism, and August Hermann Francke, and also an intimate exchange of thought about the meaning and task of Protestant missions.⁴ They also exchanged reports of missionary experiences on the mission fields in "East and West India."

This discussion about Protestant missions was not, however, restricted to the partners in Boston and Halle; but there were two more important participants in the discussion. The third partner was the SPCK itself, the secretaries general of which, Chamberlayne and Newman, were very much interested in the mission. It was their personal aim to support Protestant missions in "East and West India" as strongly as possible.

The result of this was that many highly important English personalities of all fields of science and public life became interested in missions. Here it is important to mention that from the beginning the English group did not see the task of the mission of Denmark and Halle in Tranquebar as being isolated, but they considered the missionary work in "East India" to be a part of the universal and global missionary task and to be in continual connection with the beginnings among the heathen in the North American colonies as well as in the English domains in West Africa, South Africa, India, and the Far East.

Among the London group were also some Germans whose importance for the beginnings of Protestant world missions has not yet been

taken into consideration. It is interesting to see that these men also came from the Pietism of Halle. One of these men was Anton Wilhelm Boehm, the chaplain-in-ordinary to the Prince of Denmark, Prince Consort of Queen Anne, who was settled as chaplain-in-ordinary in St. James' Chapel in London, a very important position.⁵

The second important German was W. H. Ludolf, the secretary of the Prince of Denmark, who had gotten his position by way of the intervention of the chaplain-in-ordinary. Ludolf was a world traveler and, like several others in his family, a genius in languages: he could speak and write not only all the European languages but also several oriental languages, e.g., Arabic, Abyssinian, and Turkish.⁶

A distinctive feature of the whole group is that in it the ecumenical and the missionary concern are connected. This common ecumenical and missionary interest is worth special mention. I only want to suggest here that this connection is continued throughout the whole of modern church history. Where, in the history of modern Christianity, there arises a spontaneous missionary concern which finds its expression in missionary work, at the same time there is also an ecumenical desire to bring about a reconciliation between the divided churches. It can also be proved that persons who are most interested in ecumenical work have at the same time a special understanding and interest in the task of missions.

The further partners in the discussion are the "East and West Indian" missionaries themselves. If one goes through the correspondence of August Hermann Francke one is surprised to find out how Francke, who in the histories up to now is known only as the spiritual supporter of the "East Indian" mission in Tranquebar, had himself brought about a personal connection between the leaders of Protestant missions in "East India" and in "West India" and that he also made possible a direct correspondence between Cotton Mather on one hand and Ziegenbalg and Pluetschow on the other.

The aim of this paper is to deal mainly with the discussion of the meaning and task of the Protestant missions in "East and West India" between A. H. Francke and Cotton Mather on one hand and between Cotton Mather and the missionaries from Halle on the other hand. Through this discussion the importance and responsibility of missionary work in their time became clear to the leaders and champions of Christian missions. This common discussion also encouraged them again and again to carry on and to complete the mission work in spite of most difficult crises in the beginning and in spite of all threats of political, economic, and religious hindrances.

This is not the place to give a complete appreciation of the total correspondence between Cotton Mather and August Hermann

Francke.⁷ It is significant that continental church historians have not paid any attention to the fact that there is a direct personal connection between the leaders of German Lutheran Pietism and Boston Puritanism. The coming publication of the relevant documents from the unpublished manuscripts of A. H. Francke will show the real extent of this relationship. It will also show that Francke did not only affect Cotton Mather's whole religious, pedagogical, and charitable work, but that his influence also reached the statutes of Harvard College and of other scientific, pedagogical, and social institutions in New England in the foundation of which Cotton Mather participated.

When, in 1705, A. H. Francke suggested the mission in "East India" and prepared the "East Indian" missionaries for their task, he knew little about the missionary work of the Puritans on the North American continent. In the beginning, the leaders of the "West Indian" mission also knew nothing about the missionary attempts in Tranquebar. So it was a great surprise for both parties to learn about each other's undertakings, and it was very natural that the mutual discovery caused the greatest enthusiasm and a very honest sympathy and deep friendship.

Generally speaking, in those groups in the old and new world which were interested in Protestant missions there soon developed the habit of keeping the different mission fields well informed about each other's work by the circulation of reports which were copied and translated.

The archives of the SPCK show e.g., that Ziegenbalg's and Pluetschow's letters were sent from Tranquebar to London by ships of the East India company.⁸ There they were read in the sessions of the SPCK. Ordinarily the reading was prepared by making an English translation of the original letters, which were generally written in Latin. At the same time in London accurate copies of the Latin originals were also made. These copies were handed to A. W. Boehm who was especially responsible for affairs of the German Church and for missions. These copies were also sent to Copenhagen to the appropriate ecclesiastical office of the Danish Church. The original letters of Ziegenbalg which were addressed to Francke were forwarded from London to Germany. Usually a publication of the reports was prepared immediately after their arrival. Thus most of the letters were given to the Christian public. Francke took responsibility for the publication of the letters in German translation in Halle, and Boehm did the same for the publication of the letters in English, which could be printed with the support of the SPCK. So the knowledge of events on the mission field could spread over the whole world in a very short time.⁹

On the other hand, the people who were responsible for missions

in "West India" provided for the publication of all important documents about the missionary work among the North American Indians, so that the Christian public might know about it. Among the unpublished manuscripts of A. H. Francke there are several letters written by English missionaries among the Indians which apparently were sent to him from America by way of the SPCK in London. Likewise Cotton Mather saw that his history of the North American missions among the Indians, which is found in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* and in his *India Christiana*, was sent to Francke immediately after printing. There are also later writings of Mather about the North American mission in the library of the orphan asylum in Halle.¹⁰

This continuing exchange of information caused a certain ecumenical feeling of solidarity among the missionaries of the different American and Asiatic mission fields, a feeling which naturally caused a desire for a personal and direct correspondence between the responsible leaders of the mission fields.

We do not know whether the first—no longer surviving—letters, which were exchanged between Francke and Mather and which date back to the year 1709, dealt with the problem of the missions. This is possible, because the relationship between the leader of Lutheran Pietism in Halle and the leaders of New England Puritanism in Boston was due to the above mentioned Boehm. It can be assumed that it was missionary problems which were discussed when Boehm brought about the correspondence between Francke and Mather, because there was a great endeavor to support the Danish missionaries in "East India," spiritually and materially, and Boehm, as no one else at this time, saw missions from the universal and global point of view. The English edition of the *Pietas Hallensis*, published by A. W. Boehm, moreover, contains hints of the missionary work in "East India."¹¹

This relation of friendship in the deepest union of faith is expressed in the first—still existing—letter which Mather sent to Francke in the year 1717 (the letter is without a specific date) in which, after some emphatic expressions of regard, he immediately speaks about his missionary work. The rumor of the renewal of Christianity coming from Halle had gone through the whole Christian world, and had also "reached us who were unknown to Strabo and to Caesar, but not to Christ." Francke's work *Pietas Hallensis*, i.e., the translation of Francke's work by Boehm, as *Foot-prints of the still living God*, in which he describes the story of the orphan asylum in Halle, reached "West India" and there like a glowing coal taken from the altar, it had kindled a saving fire.¹²

First of all, Mather speaks against the ill-natured historio-theological interpretation of America expressed by self-conscious European

theologians of this time. In this interpretation America was identified with the "outer darkness" of which the gospel of Matthew speaks, the darkness into which the cowardly and worthless servant is cast. Cotton Mather defends himself against this "frivolous phantasm," saying: "But also into these our outer regions finally the saving light of the gospel came; the sun of justice and salvation arose." In order to prove this thesis Mather gives a short survey of the situation of Christianity in New England where there are already 200 English churches and 30 churches of Indians converted to Christianity. He reports on the Church in New England as not being without faults but holds that in spite of this it surpasses Christianity in all other countries, because in New England "true and original Christianity" is more revered.

Then he speaks about two characteristics of the Church in New England: first he suggests the ecumenical concern for the understanding and reconciliation of the different Christian denominations in North America; and secondly he especially mentions the missionary work which has been developing so well in North America. The fact is striking that he immediately connects both points of view in his idea of the *evangelium aeternum*. A newly awakened Christian eschatological expectation forms the religious basis of his ecumenical as well as of his missionary concern. This consciousness of the end also imprints itself on his view of the importance of Protestant missions. In this "last time" it is the most urgent task of every servant of Christ to spread the eternal gospel, i.e., those principles of Christian belief which are common to all the different Christian churches and denominations. Mather formulates them in fourteen points as *axiomata evangelii aeterni*. On these common principles of belief the different churches must unite for common Christian action. A part of the common work also is the Christian mission among the heathen. Here Mather develops points of view very similar to those which Zinzendorf later took as a basis of his own missionary plans: the heathen must not be drawn into the confusing diversity of the old historical churches and their traditional controversies, but true Christianity should be preached unto them, as the "angels" of the *evangelium aeternum*, Spener, Johann Arndt, and Francke, have expressed it.

Mather considers America to be the country chosen by God himself in which the ecumenical and missionary task of true Christianity shall be realized more perfectly than is possible on European soil, which is partitioned by historical conflicts. His main work, a history of American Christianity, which he published under the title *Magnalia Christi Americana*, and which he sent to Francke as a sign of friendship, is written from this point of view. He also promises Francke to

send him his *Biblia Americana* which also gives insight into his missionary leanings.

This first letter, which does not yet specifically speak about Francke's work in "East India," thus expresses Mather's principal religious concern, the connection between his ecumenical and missionary work, and gives Francke an impressive picture of the missionary undertakings on the North American continent. The *Magnalia Christi Americana* presents a very detailed survey of all American missions among the Indians, giving copies of several original reports of different missionaries and an accurate history of each individual small missionary community in the woods and in the mountains and on the lake shores of North America.

Cotton Mather's diary shows that his acquaintance with Francke dates back to the year 1709. On December 9th, 1709, he writes that the method of piety which he describes in his essays "The Heavenly Conversation" and "Dust and Ashes," exhibits the "new American pietism." "I shall endeavor to send these things to Dr. Frankius in Saxonia." In the following years he apparently got acquainted with Francke's reports from the orphan asylum in Halle, for as entries in his diary for March 12th and 13th, 1711, show he not only sent to Francke an account of his work on the foundation of an orphan asylum in Boston which was built strictly after the model of the orphan asylum in Halle, but also a present of gold. On April 7th of the same year, he reports receiving news of the progress of the kingdom of God in Germany, and on November 10th, 1711, on sending a new gift of gold to the orphan asylum in Halle. He also mentions his plan to translate some English devotional books into German.¹²

Francke's letter of thanks for this gift is preserved. Francke uses the occasion of thanking him for the money and books from "West India" to give a complete account of all his undertakings in Halle to Cotton Mather. This report presents the shortest and most complete survey of the different expressions of the pietistic revival movement, e.g., Christian charity, Christian education, Christian instruction of the people, the renewal of theological study and the whole of academic training, as well as the numerous attempts for an ecumenical reconciliation of the different churches in East and West.

In this survey Francke also gives a first report on the mission of Denmark and Halle in "East India." It is striking that Francke takes it for granted that Mather knows about events there from the pamphlet, "Propagation of the gospel in the East." Francke explicitly describes what he writes in the above letter as a general outline in the event that Cotton Mather has not yet received the pamphlet.

Then Francke reports on the foundation of the mission by Fred-

erick IV of Denmark, on the sending of the missionaries Ziegenbalg and Pluetschow, on their struggles, victories, and defeats on the mission field, how their work is hindered by the unchristian behaviour of white nominal Christians in India, on the sending of three other missionaries to India and how the mission is supported by the SPCK in London, on the establishing of a printing press, on the first publications in the Malabar and Portuguese languages. Francke also quotes the letter of the SPCK to the missionaries, in which they are consoled and encouraged and given the promise of further support.

The passage in which Francke himself gives a survey of the Malabar mission to his American brother in Christ is worth being quoted here:

"However, I can't but entertain you on this Occasion with another charitable Work, but of a very singular Nature, and extending itself as far as the Coast of *Coromandel* in the East-(49) Indies. You may perhaps remember, Reverend Sir, that in the Treatise which gives an Account of the Hospital here, there is up and down mention made of some Danish Missionaries sent to the Coast of *Coromandel*, to attempt the Conversion of the *Malabar* Heathens in those Parts. Several Pieces have been published in *English* relating to the *Rise* and *Progress* of this Affair,¹³ some whereof are perhaps fallen into your Hands by this Time. I'll only subjoin here a few general Hints of the whole Undertaking, in case the aforesaid Papers be not come to your sight.

"In the Year 1705, two young Candidates of Divinity, Bartholomew *Ziegenbalgh* and Henry *Plutschow*, Natives of *Germany* were sent by *FREDERICK IV* the present king of Denmark, to the East-Indies, for the End above mentioned. They arrived safe (50)ly at *Tranquebar* in the Month of *June*, 1706, and immediately applied themselves to learn the *Portoguese* and *Malabar* Tongues. The latter of these Languages, tho' exceeding hard and intricate, was within *Eight* Months Time so far master'd by Mr. *Ziegenbalgh*, that he began to preach to the *Malabar* Heathen in the same, and, by this Means to explain unto them the Method of *Salvation*.

"In effect, God did not leave their Endeavors without a Blessing: For, soon after, some of these Heathens, being wrought upon by the Word of Salvation, did shake off their Pagan Idolatry, and readily came over to Christianity. And this hopeful Beginning proved a new Encouragement to these Laborers, to go on with the Work so happily set on Foot, tho' not without Toil and Difficulty: However, after a little While, they found so many *Letts* and *Impediments* in their Way, raised both by Heathens and Christians, as seemed to break the very first Efforts tending to the Conversion of the Heathen to the Church

of Christ. The Pagans were generally possessed *with an utter* (51) *Aversion* to the Christian Religion; and this for no other Reason, but because they saw so much Impiety and Profaneness abounding among those that call themselves by this Name.

"This was attended again with many other fatal Consequences: For no sooner did a Heathen embrace the Christian Faith, but he was for ever banished from his former Goods and Possessions and left to the wide World, to shift for himself. However, there were some other Impediments thrown in their Way, far more obstructive to the Propagation of the Gospel, than all what the Heathens could do to oppose it. Those Impediments were started on the Part of the *Christians* themselves, whose duty it had been to aid and support so laudable an Undertaking.

"But in the midst of these various Obstacles, raised originally by the common Enemy of Souls, God was pleas'd to excite many Persons in *Germany*, to favour the Labours of the Missionaries; especially after they were convinced with what Candour and Diligence they endeavored to manage the Work committed to their Trust. (52) And truly, considerable Sums of Money were required for settling and improving the several Branches of this Constitution: It was necessary, that a Church should be built, that Charity-Schools should be set up, and all manner of Malabarian and Christian Books transcribed, for the Improvement of the whole Design.

"About the latter End of the Year 1708, when the Work increased under their Hands, *three* Persons more were sent over the same Errand, *viz* Two Missionaries, and one Student of Divinity: the latter whereof had been employ'd in our Charity-Schools here, and thereby acquired a good Method of Instructing Children. They arrived at *Tranquebar* in *July* 1709 in order to join the other two in the same Design.

"It was about this Time, or soon after, that these small Endeavours, tending to the Conversion of the Heathens in the *East*, came to be taken notice of in *England* by the Gentlemen of the worthy *Society* set up in *London* for *Propagating Christian Knowledge*. In the Beginning of the Year 1711, the said *Society* was (53) pleased to write a letter to the Missionaries; and having chose 'em *Corresponding* Members of their Body, invited them, in very obliging Terms, to a fixed Correspondence by Letters. They were, at the same Time supplied with a Printing Press, a *Font* of Latin Types, and other Necessaries, at the expense of the *English Nation*; the whole being accompanied with a Present of Fifty Pounds in Money, for carrying on the better the Design in Hand. They conclude their Letter with the following [exhortation] to a steady Continuance of the whole Work once begun:

"*But You, Reverend Sirs, accept in good Part, both this brief Account, (relating to the several Undertakings set up in Great Britain for Propagating Religion at Home and Abroad) and Invitation to a future Correspondence by Letters. Let our Endeavours here in England, excite you faithfully to pursue the Work you are engaged in. The greater the Number of those is, that run with you the same Race, the more you ought to press forward towards the proposed End. Do not shrink back in your Minds, whenever the Enemy of Souls assaULTS you, either with open Violence or Endeavours to throw Snares in your Way, by his wonted Craft and Subtility; leaving no Stone unturn'd to stifle the Work of God, if possible in its first Rise and Infancy. TRUTH always comes off with Triumph; and tho' it be pressed down, for a while, yet nothing is able to oppress or destroy it. Let your Victory be in the Humility of Jesus Christ and let universal Love and Bignity arm and surround you with Patience, as with a Shield, which is able to break all such Weapons as may be lifted up against it.*

"What an uncommon Encouragement the Missionaries received from this moving Exhortation, and the unexpected Supply attending it, doth manifestly appear, from a Letter they sent me in the Year 1712. And truly it could not but give a new Life to a Work incumbered with so many Lets and Disappointments, and which seemed to threaten it more and more on all Sides.

"Whilst these Helps were sent over from England, for the Benefit of the Mission; we, in Germany, did whatever we could to prepare a Font of Malabar Types, in order to print such Books as were thought necessary for the Church and Schools gathering on the Coast of Coromandel. We had an Alphabet, or Set of Malabar Letters, transmitted to us from the East-Indies, which served for a Model Pattern, in engraving and casting off a sufficient Number of those Characters. With these Types, we printed off, as a Specimen, the *Apostles Creed*, together with a *Latin* and *German* translation thereof. After this we committed the whole Care of the Press to Mr. John Berlin, a Student of Divinity, who had learned the Art of Printing in the Orphan-House here and thereby qualified himself for that Employment.

"To him was joined Mr. Jo. Theophilus Adler, a Printer come from Leipzig in Saxony, who freely offer'd himself to go over to the East-Indies, and jointly with Mr. Berlin, to manage the Printing Part, for the Use of the Mission. We readily embraced this Offer, and looked upon it as a Finger of Providence, thereby to settle this Work on a good and promising Foundation; since this Person was not only (56) acquainted with the Art of Printing, but had also a sufficient Skill in graving and casting off the necessary Letters. They set out from hence about the latter End of the Year 1712, for England;

and in February 1713, having put themselves on Board the *English Fleet*, pursued their Journey to *India*, where they happily landed the 29th of June following. Lately we received Letters from them, with some *Specimens* of their first Labours among the Heathens, and the agreeable Advice, that the *New Testament*, done into *Malabarick*, by Mr. *Ziegenbalgh*, was then actually put to the Press.

"And thus much may suffice, *Reverend Sir*, for giving you an Information of a Matter tending to the Conversion of the *Malabar* Heathens in the *East-Indies*; which, I hope, will prove no less acceptable than the other parts of this Epistolary Narrative."

But Francke is not satisfied with mentioning the East-Indian mission; he also relates the Malabar missionary work to the undertakings in "West India" which he had learnt about. He wants to hear more about the similar evangelical missionary work on the American continent and to bring about an inner harmony between the different undertakings. So he asks Mather to send him an account of the situation of the mission in America.

"Providence hath cast Your Lot in *America*, a Country abounding with numerous and barbarous Nations, who living without the Pales of the Christian Church, stand in need as much as those in the *East*, of the sa-(57)ving Light of the Gospel. I do not doubt, but it would be very agreeable to our Missionaries, if a Letter from your Hand did give 'em a full Account of all such *Methods* as hitherto have been made use of for converting your *West-India* Heathens to the Christian Faith. And I heartily wish, that the like Account may also be imparted to us, with the first Opportunity."

Francke also does not fail to mention the source through which he was informed about the beginnings of such missionary work in "West India."

"I have in my Hands a Letter, dated at *Boston*, July 12, 1687, and writ by one *Crescentius Mather*, to *John Leusden*, heretofore a famous Philologer at *Utrecht* in *Holland*. I suppose the Writer to be one of Your Relations. In this Letter he mentions one *John Eliot*, and his unwearied Labours, in spreading Christian Knowledge among the Heathen there. He speaks likewise of some entire Congregations, made up of such Persons as were gained over to our Holy Religion by Diligence of that Labourer. All which I have read with singular Satisfaction, and wish to be fuller inform'd of the present State of all such Endeavours."

Apparently Francke had already been informed by a relation of Cotton Mather, about the important missionary among the Indians on the North American continent, John Eliot. This is the same John Eliot whose detailed life story was written by Cotton Mather and

whose deeds, together with letters and documents, are published by Francke in his standard work about the North American mission, *India Christiana*.

It is no wonder that the news about the mission in "East India" claimed Cotton Mather's greatest attention, for it hit the center of his own missionary endeavours. Francke's letter had a strange effect upon Cotton Mather which gives us a psychological problem to solve. The letter represented a general survey of all work for the spread of the kingdom of God by way of foreign and home missions and by way of a mutual understanding and cooperation of the individual churches. The letter was ready to be printed. It would have been very natural if Cotton Mather had published this letter from Francke in the form in which he got it.

Cotton Mather published Francke's letter indeed, but, surprisingly, he published the letter not in its original form, but changed the name of the address as well as the name of the sender. He gave the name of one of his friends as addressee and signed the letter with his own name and by slight changes of the style gave the impression that the letter had been written by himself, reporting to his friend on the progress of the kingdom of God in Europe and in Asia. There is no doubt that a certain vanity is one of the reasons why Cotton Mather substituted his own name as the sender: he himself wanted to appear as the first to spread this important news and he wanted to draw a reflection of the glory of the *Pietas Hallensis* upon himself. Thus Francke's letter appeared in Boston in 1715 under the title *Nuncia bona e terra longiqua*. The fact that Francke was not mentioned as the author saved him from the reproach of speaking such poor Latin as the title "Nuncia bona," which Cotton Mather gave the letter, exhibits.¹⁴

Another fact proves that personal competition made Cotton Mather change the name of the sender. For A. W. Boehm, the chaplain-in-ordinary in London, himself also published Francke's letter to Cotton Mather, but in its original form, in the third volume of the *Pietas Hallensis*. This letter was translated into English as the preface of this volume under the title "Part III. To which is prefixed a Letter of the Author to the Reverend D. Cotton Mather, Minister of the Gospel in New-England. London: printed and sold by J. Downing, in Bartholomew-Row near West-Smithfield, 1716."¹⁵

There is no doubt that this publication at so prominent a place with the name of Cotton Mather expressly mentioned as the addressee was intended as a definite correction of Mather's usurpation of this letter. It is significant that Francke's letter to Mather is not printed in the German edition, but only in the English edition of the *Pietas*

Hallensis, so that the correction is meant for English readers especially.

The connecting person between the Pietists in Halle, the missionaries in "East India," and the Puritans in New England, the Lutheran chaplain-in-ordinary in London, Anton Wilhelm Boehm, not only arranged the English editions of the German books about the work of Francke in Halle, but in his preface he also emphasized the fundamental importance and task of Protestant missions and introduced Francke's thoughts to the Anglo-Saxon world. Especially important here is his preface of the booklet "Propagation of the Gospel in the East" which is meant to be a dedication: "To the Most Reverend Father in God, Thomas, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, etc., President; and to the Rest of the Members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." Boehm considers his epoch to be the end of the time in which Satan has almost got the upper hand over the kingdom of God. In the old world he has already smothered and extinguished the fire of the kingdom of God. Some sparks have sprung over to America and have kept smouldering there. Now through the missions, thought Boehm, there has also been kindled a spark in the East of Asia. From the beginning the mission has been carried on from the point of view of the world mission which in this last dangerous age has to fulfil its task of propagating the light of the gospel over all the world, the East and West.

"When the Common Enemy supposed Religion now to be at the last gasp, it reviv'd again, like a second Phenix, being made strong out of its Weakness, and springing up again, as from its own Ashes. . . Since as by the Means of your generous Enterprize, some Beams thereof have been cast even upon the western World; so a small Ray of Visitation begins to return, it seems, to the Eastern Tract again, after so dark, long, and dismal an Hour of divine Judgments poured out upon these Nations."

Boehm assigns an ecumenical, universal task to Western missions: it is not the task of missions to make proselytes for any specific "religious party" and to draw the heathen into the religious conflicts of the Occident, but to preach to the heathen the gospel, true Christianity, and so to contribute to the promotion of the "Church universal."

" 'tis but too well known that many compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, make him twofold more the child of hell than themselves. Which spirit of partiality at it very much soures the mind, rendering it unfit for propagating true wisdom; (for this is without partiality, Jas. III, 17). So it spreads itself too much through all the Parties of Christianity, many being more concerned about propagating their peculiar way of worship, with some little external Formalities, than the Truth as it is in Jesus (Eph. 4, 21), and

thus neglecting the Substance for a Circumstance, make but sorry work towards promoting the cause of Christ and the good of the Church Universal."

Thus missions are not their own end; they serve not only the geographical rounding out of the kingdom of God, but are also meant to influence the old Churches in an ecumenical sense, in the sense of a general revival of "true Christianity" and the bringing forth of the "church universal." So in the preface to the third part of the *Gospel in the East*, Boehm presents the vision of this true church as being the final aim of the history of redemption, an image which shall illumine the path of all missionary end ecumenical endeavours:

"This glorious State of the Church will then doubtless appear, when the Fullness of the Gentiles is come in, and all Israel is saved at last. These will prove infinite successions to the Church both in Strength and Beauty, and make her arise and shine, as the Prophet's Phrase is. But what renders still more complete the glory of the Church in that time, is the wonderful order and symmetry which will then most conspicuously appear, both throughout the whole Body in general, and in every member in particular. The Spirit of Division and Rancour, of Party and Animosity, of Sect and Envy, will be altogether banished from the Church, raised to that Dignity; or if it should offer to disturb her, it will soon be vanquished by that Power, which hath made her a Terror to her Enemies. But all this she doth not do by her own Power, but by the Power of her Head, to whom she is graciously united by Faith. All the Members are animated by one and the same Head, held together in the same Bond of Peace. The variety of gifts which appear among them, it is so far from creating Divisions, that it will set off the Church with the greater lustre and Amiableness. For all the gifts are sanctified by the same Spirit, and tend to the same End. And 'tis this Union, which maketh the Church look both beautiful and powerful, fair and terrible."

So Francke's missionary spirit reached Cotton Mather in diverse ways and awakened in him the greatest sympathy for his brother in Christ in Halle and his work.

Driven by the stimulation of the letters and writings from Halle and London Cotton Mather started a correspondence all by himself with the two missionaries from Halle in Tranquebar, on December 31, 1717. His letter represents an extremely important document, because he expresses in it his fundamental ideas about the duties and tasks of Protestant missions. This letter can even be looked upon as a program of the Protestant conception of missions.

First of all, he starts with unlooked for praise of the missionary activity undertaken by the Pietists from Halle, "evangelical and

genuinely angelic work." Missionary service is a work of angels, the missionaries fulfil the task of angels in bringing the Gospel to the nations of the heathen, to whom this light had been previously denied. "One cannot imagine finding anything which is more in agreement with God and everything good, which comes nearer to the most noble final end, even to the highest good of man, or which is more wholesome for mankind, or worthier that angels themselves should delight to undertake it, than this holy work which you do."¹⁶

This activity has a special eschatological meaning: God himself has kindled a new light in these last days of decay and of the end of the world. "The merciful God who causes to shine the eternal radiance of his love to man, he is the one who has awakened you and helped you to promote his religion, that religion which, wherever it is preached, summons the world which lies buried in decomposition and miserable decay out of its grave and which renews it in the eternal life lost through our first parents and through our own dropping away."¹⁷

This eschatological background, the consciousness that the Church has missed a great deal and that there is still much to be done before the dawn of the Day of Judgment, is the key to real understanding of the meaning of missions; missions are the spontaneous expression of genuine Christian life, a life which, in the opinion of Mather, however, is restricted to the chosen people of God. "This is the religion which brings the chosen people of God to the blessedness to which God chose them; the religion which reveals and establishes the kingdom of God among the heathen. This is the religion which collects true subjects and fighters for the Lord of hosts, and which establishes living temples for the Lord God, temples which are far more precious than all lifeless temples built only by human art and hand. This is the religion which awakens a desire for heaven to dwell on earth and which enables the inhabitants of the earth to be admitted to the most blessed heavenly places."

Contemplating this high importance of missions, Cotton Mather, rejoicing, exclaims enthusiastically: "What a magnificent thing! What a high and heavenly work! O how blessed are those who are found servants of God in this work! They are to be counted fortunate even if they are tired by work, watching, and sorrows without end; even more than fortunate if they consider how well off they are. This duty, of course, is a burden which is likely to make even the shoulders of angels bow and flinch. But it is indeed such a work that angels' wings would also like to be used in it with all their speed and joy. It is even such a work that those servants who carry out God's pleasure and commands and are endeavoring to bring about God's universal kingdom,

not only imitate those angels, but are also helped and accompanied in their undertakings by them."

Holding this high general estimation of missions, Cotton Mather cast his eye critically at the mission work done by the Churches of the Reformation. Here he felt it to be his duty to accuse them of a great sin of omission. The Church is guilty of having hitherto neglected the work of missions. "It is to be considered a great and heavy scandal in the Protestant churches, which should deeply disturb us, that so little or almost nothing happens which serves to spread Christian faith, for this faith contains so much wisdom and kindness that no legitimate objection can be made to it. For it is by this faith that the kingdom of God came to the world which was bound and subjected by Satan with chains of darkness, Satan whose kingdom and works are everywhere."

Mather contrasts the indifference to missions of the Churches of the Reformation with the extremely lively missionary activity of the Roman Catholic Church. His judgment of the latter reveals the total antipathy of the Puritan for Rome. Roman Catholic missions seem to him the propaganda of the Anti-Christ. "Meanwhile the Roman Catholic Church throws herself into propagating the idolatry and superstition of the Anti-Christ and into establishing the Kingdom of Satan. This whore is sending out thousands of people so that, as the proverb says, not one ship can carry them all together. How they do burn with zeal! How indefatigable they are in their undertakings! How fervently do they struggle for the crown, which in their opinion is faithful suffering accepted out of love for truth."

So it is high time that in the face of this paradoxical situation where the real shepherds are sleeping and only the propagandists of the Anti-Christ are working, some awakened minds in the Churches of the Reformation should take over the work of missions. "But we praise the name of our God that He may guide the hearts of some distinguished persons to make an end of this scandal and may awaken them to take the shame away from us. And among those who have proved themselves by acting bravely and well, you, as Malabar missionaries, have won the prize. I do not say this to flatter you, but in admiration of God's grace which supports you."

The news of this mission in "East India" is received the more gladly by Americans, because their duty is to do missionary work likewise among the Indians. "The rumour of your mission and your efforts in it has spread from East India to West India. What you did in Asia by God's grace, to found a Christian people among the Indians, is received in America like good news from a remote country, as a cool

drink of water is received by the thirsty, and is related among American Christians to the great praise of God."¹⁸

The fact that there was a similar missionary concern and responsibility in the East and in the West caused Mather to express certain fundamental thoughts about the duties and tasks of Christian missions. Here again the fundamental spiritualistic and eschatological motifs of his piety are noticeable. It is not the task of missions to preach the gospel to the heathen in its historical refraction into the many denominations, to transfer the conflict of the historical religious controversies to the mission field, nor to draw into this conflict the heathen who do not understand those controversies. On the contrary, the foundation of missions ought to be the *evangelium aeternum*, i.e., in Mather's opinion, the true essence of Christianity is expressed most impressively in Johann Arndt's *Vier Buecher vom Wahren Christentum*. Mather read this book in the English translation of his friend, Boehm.

As, in his letter to Franke, Cotton Mather prophesied the reconciliation of the Christian denominations on the basis of the *evangelium aeternum* and formulated the fourteen *axiomata evangelii aeterni* which should be the fundamentals of the reconciliation of the churches, so in this letter he sets out some fundamental principles of the *evangelium aeternum*. "First of all it is my highest wish and most urgent desire that all servants of God who suffer so much and work so hard in their office of preaching the gospel to the world should present the pure fundamental teachings of the eternal gospel to the whole universe and should preach the most important things to the heathen and in doing so they should sift the wheat from the chaff, so to speak, and from other less important points about which there could be and is discussion among persons of good will."

The doctrine of the *evangelium aeternum* which is developed in this letter differs from the corresponding statements in the letter of Francke only in the fact that Mather here presents this *evangelium aeternum* in a simpler, less explicit form, consisting of three, instead of fourteen, main points: the article of God, the article of Christ, and the article of the golden rule. "I ask and beseech you only for this, that you might present to the heathen, among whom you do the work of God abundantly, first of all these most important articles of which true Christianity primarily consists.

"First of all, how the one God who exists in three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who created the world, is to be accepted as our God and to be worshipped, and how it should be the preeminent aim in our life that we should obey Him in everything, and most carefully should avoid everything which His light shining in our souls condemns as sin against Him.

"Furthermore, how Christ, the eternal Son of God, who appeared in the flesh as our much adored Jesus, is our only Redeemer who died for us, offering an acceptable sacrifice to divine justice, on whom our faith is based and who reconciles us with God. How we, if we believe in his teachings, who now is ascended into heaven and reigns at the throne of God, will also enjoy wonderful and unspeakable blessedness to our immortal souls, with which our transfigured bodies also will be reunited in the resurrection on that Day when He will come back to us to judge the world.

"Finally, that if we are filled wholly with the love of God and of Christ it is our duty to love our neighbour with all our hearts and to live continually after the golden rule: Do unto others as you wish others to do unto you."

In Mather's opinion these three points are the substance of the Christian religion and Christian ethics. For the Christian religion is "nothing else but the teaching of how to praise the Lord God through Jesus Christ; therefore it is to be considered a science whose aim is practice rather than mere knowledge, which seeks to awaken a true, profound, and vivid fear of God in man, and which calls men who are dead in their sins to live a virtuous, righteous, and godly life. Certainly in the Christian religion, which truly teaches how to live a godly life, there are practical articles which all children of God agree upon. Those who seriously and sincerely associate with one another on the basis of this agreement are to be counted as God's children. There is no doubt that if the few articles which aim at the practice of a godly life are first presented and accepted, a mind thus improved is also able to judge more correctly and thoroughly those smaller points about which there is great discussion, not without much distressing quarrelling, even among those confessing the good. For the love of God illumines the mind and when quarrels arise, such men must show eagerness on both sides to defend this fundamental doctrine of true godliness."

These three articles are enough for true Christian faith and true Christian life. Therefore they are especially suited to be the foundation for preaching among the heathen, who cannot understand at all the various distinctive theological doctrines of the Christian Churches formulated in philosophical terms. Cotton Mather says of these three points: "This is the true Christian doctrine. Where this is made known to the heathen in sincerity and purity by God's trumpet, such preachers will undoubtedly be supported by God: the hand of the Lord will be with them and many will believe and turn to God. What else is the hand of the Lord but God's Spirit, without whose help their work will be fruitless who want to build the house of God."

This is not the end of his explanations as to the task of missions. Here also we see the spiritualistic Puritan piety which anticipates the end of the world. Even the best doctrine is fruitless without the Spirit of God and only God's Spirit can fulfill the mission among the heathen. So he puts at the end of his statements a doctrine of the Holy Spirit which moves in the tradition of Joachim of Fiore and also shows how the old revolutionary theory of the spiritualists forms Mather's deepest religious impulses.

Cotton Mather himself, however, feels that here he enters dangerous territory, for he introduces the exposition of his theology of the Spirit with the following words: "With fear, heart-felt awe, and the deepest humility I should like to write you the following, or at least I should like to intimate it in a low voice, so to speak." All real progress in the Christian religion, all true life is begotten by the Holy Spirit. "All profoundly learned, erudite, and well versed men who are free of fanatic principles are of the opinion that the improvement of the Church and the propagation of religion proceed by virtue of the extraordinary gifts of the prophetic Spirit. God will grant us this Spirit again just as once His Spirit illuminated the first Christian Church and propagated and established the Christian religion in the world."

What Cotton Mather "intimates here with a low voice," is the same doctrine of the fire of the Holy Ghost which inspired most of the radical groups of the left wing of the Reformation to their revolutionary deeds.

In Mather's opinion the activity of the Holy Ghost is mediated by angels. This fact explains why Mather considers the angels to be so important and why so many of his religious pamphlets deal with the doctrine of angels. Angels seem to him to be the direct effective organs of the Holy Spirit, servants who fulfill God's commands and bring about purposes of the Spirit in history and in the human heart.

"From the beginning of the world the Holy Spirit has communicated light to lead his earthly people to heavenly peace. It has been his wont to send from above good angels, who in this matter have been apt and skilful instruments of the eternal Spirit of God, to the children of man: thus also those men who were pleasing and agreeable to God, with whom the angels stayed and in whom they dwelt, became his messengers and preachers through whom He has revealed His will to mankind by word and writing.

"The effects of the holy angels through such servants are varied and marvellous, but all this is caused only by the same Spirit who gives to each according to His will. To have these angels and the power of the prophetic Spirit has always been a light for God's people shining in

a dark place. A dark place, indeed, which is covered with darkness in our days since the world cannot endure such light. According to our own confession, we owe the immense treasures of the truth which is hidden in the holy Scriptures to this prophetic Spirit. By His assistance the Church has been saved, in spite of all the storms which have threatened to submerge it, like a small spark which is not extinguished in the storm-swept sea."

The effects of the Spirit in history, of course, are not uniform. Here Cotton Mather develops the same historico-theological division of epochs which we already find expressed in the spiritualists of the medieval period and which was revived by the spiritualists of the continental reformation of the 16th century as well as by the English Puritans and Independents of the 17th century.

Mather distinguishes four epochs:

1. The epoch of the effectiveness of the Holy Spirit in the prophets of the Old Testament. This was followed by an epoch of silence of the Holy Spirit which lasted 400 years.

2. The epoch of the pouring out of the Holy Spirit after the ascension of Christ and the following period of 200 years during which the gifts of the Holy Spirit were effective within the Christian Church. This was followed by another period in which the Holy Spirit did not operate.

Now Cotton Mather awaits a third epoch of the pouring out of the Holy Spirit, which is to initiate the period of the fulfilment of the Church and which is identified with the age of the *evangelium aeternum*. He considers preachers like Johann Arndt, Spener, and Francke, the leaders of the most recent Pietistic revival movement, to be the forerunners of this epoch.

- "1. Four hundred years before the birth of our Saviour this prophetic Spirit ceased and was no longer perceived.

- "2. But when this most high king was ascended to heaven and sat at the right hand of the Almighty, he received gifts for men and sent the angels who were under his power to the preachers of the *evangelii aeterni*, and let fall a rich rain of heavenly gifts to refresh his dry people.

"For more than two hundred years these gifts of the prophetic Spirit enlarged and ruled the Church so that the Church felt her beloved Bridegroom to be present with her. But as the carnal Spirit of the world and the poison of Epicurean sophistication entered the Church, and when she no longer would recognize the Saviour to be her leader, the heavenly Comforter was aggrieved and went away. Hereafter followed a kingdom animated by the disgraceful spirit of the

Anti-Christ and for three years and six months rain was denied to the earth which was parched with thirst under the wrath of God.

"How now, if finally, after 1260 years of the Anti-Christ, it would roar again like the beginning of a mighty rain? (I Kings XIX, 41). What if the dove which flew out twice, but came back soon, would fly out a third time, without coming back, but would stay with us until the great flood of ignorance and godlessness under which the whole earth is now submerged should depart from the earth and let it get dry? What if the kingdom of God should come, with the joy of the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit should use the promised gifts of various kinds for the inner as well as for the outer propagation of the *evangelium*? I do not know whether this is at hand or not, only God knows it.

"It is more than certain that Joel's prophecy has yet to be fulfilled: 'I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh.' It is also probable that that pouring out of the Holy Spirit by which the Christian Church was founded is to be viewed merely as a matter of some drops, whereas at the end of the age, when the fulfilment of this prophecy will come, there will be a much more abundant rain."

This doctrine of the *evangelium aeternum* and of the approaching epoch of the Holy Spirit gives us the deepest insight into the real religious fundamentals of Puritanism. The epoch of the Holy Spirit is at hand. The Church is close to her fulfillment. The true servants of the Church are to realize the double task: (1) to gather the Church out of its dispersion in many sects and denominations to the only true universal Church of believers restored and renewed through Jesus Christ, and (2) to spread the gospel also among the heathen from whom it has been so far withheld.

Here we should mention that the North American Puritans found a special aspect of the history of redemption to be the reason for their duty to do missionary work among the Indians. Christ's command to do missionary work (Matt. 28, 19), "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations!" seemed to have been fulfilled by the apostles. According to Puritan opinion, however, the devil had hidden a part of mankind in America, beyond the great ocean, in order to withdraw them from the influence of the gospel, which means death to his mastery, and in order to make it impossible for the apostles, who finished their missionary work at the pillars of Hercules and never crossed the ocean, to do missionary work among them. The Puritans considered it their task to make up this missionary work, which so far had been hindered by Satan's astuteness, among this part of mankind which had not been reached by the apostles. It was natural for them also to find the same reason for the missionary work in "East India." This

idea also bears eschatological features: in this last age finally we have to make up what the apostles did not do. In this last time it is our task to throw the devil out of the last reservation he has saved for himself and to preach the gospel to the last heathen nations.

Cotton Mather is certainly very well aware that when professing the doctrine of the *evangelium aeternum* and the coming kingdom of the outpouring of the Spirit he enters the dangerous company of spiritualists, enthusiasts, and fanatics who just at this time were appearing in many a revolutionary, spiritualistic, and communistic group in Germany, England, and New England, whose most radical representatives had made their appearance as religious immigrants in the New England colonies. At the end of his letter, consequently, Mather tries to draw a line between himself and those radical enthusiasts, and to qualify the extremist features which might be derived from his *evangelium aeternum*. Thus he writes: "I confess, however, that the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit are not to be estimated so highly as the quickening grace by which all who are sanctified by God through ordinary means are written in the book of life and live to their God.

"I frankly admit that the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit which those people have received are to be examined according to the rules of the fear of God so that even those effects which could be considered miracles, yet would not work for godliness, but against it, are to be thoroughly condemned. They are to be rejected as belonging to the tricky plots of the devil who disguises himself as an angel of light. I also admit and have always been of the opinion that nothing more wholesome can be inculcated than the reminder of Professor Francke, that it is not too safe to aim at extraordinary gifts which could possibly be very dangerous for those who have not been previously rooted in goodness and grounded in humility. (For who can be virtuous in this respect in his own heart?)"

Cotton Mather nevertheless holds fast to his view of the effective work of the Holy Spirit and he explicitly professes again belief in the imminent pouring out of the Holy Spirit: "Nevertheless, what prevents our heavenly Father, who gives the Holy Spirit to those who ask Him for it, from gratifying their wishes if they should implore him to give them the fellowship and assistance of his angels in this his work? One should not lose courage here as if it were an impossible matter. If with prayer and the necessary extraordinary fasting they will diligently implore the Lord, they will see how the Holy Spirit will come down to them, and will present them with the gifts of grace of former times, for which we hope also in the future, and help them to continue easily and happily in their work.

"I do not know whether the time will be soon at hand which is appointed by God for the pouring out of the Holy Spirit and whether the kingdom of God will be revealed soon. I believe, however, that it is at hand. I admit also that I do not know whether those who serve God indefatigably in fitting and modest reverence and who labor for the gospel with highest love and self-denial will be the first to experience the pouring out of the Spirit (as I hope)."

The letter ends with a request for fellowship in prayer to uphold and support the work of missions in "East and West India." "See, Most Reverend Sir, what brings us together; how we are, indeed, connected in our hearts, although the great ocean is between us; and how we have one mind, although we live in two countries. We want to support each other constantly in prayer before our most merciful God and Father."

This most significant letter of Cotton Mather to the missionaries in Tranquebar shows four things:

1. Here it is confirmed that the ecumenical and the missionary concerns of Pietism and of Puritanism are related to each other through a mysterious common root.

2. The mysterious root of the common ecumenical and missionary concern is a highly intense expectation of the end of time, centered in the expectation of a new pouring out of the Holy Spirit, and upheld by a spiritualistic enthusiasm.

The expectation of the approaching Age of the Spirit is the mysterious root which enabled the missionaries in "East" as well as "West India" to accomplish their extraordinary spiritual and physical achievements, and which gave them the courage to remain faithful to their task and to fulfill the most astonishing labors in spite of the immense spiritual, linguistic, climatic, physical, and transport difficulties of the missionary work to which they devoted themselves. Only the knowledge that the Day of the Lord was at hand and that so much must be accomplished by the messengers of the Lord: the spread of the gospel, the transformation of the world, the awakening of mankind, the realization of the Christian command of love,—makes it understandable that those missionaries did not break down under all the disappointments and hardships of their work.¹⁸

3. Mather's principles for missions among the heathen turned out to be very important for the whole later work of Christian missions, and have been carried through in missionary practice even when there were doubts as to their theological correctness and validity and where only denominational missionary work was done.

It is significant that Zinzendorf also, after his two trips to the mission field of the West Indian islands and to the English colonies of

North America came to a conclusion very similar to that of Cotton Mather: that Christianity should not be preached to the heathen in the form of the differentiated historical doctrines of the European churches, but that there should be presented to them the substance of the gospel, a summary of that essence which is appropriate to their understanding.

4. Mather's letter presents a totally new picture of the deep and intimate relations between German Pietism and American Puritanism. It is not just a phrase when Cotton Mather calls the Puritanism of New England and its particular spiritual tendency the "Pietism of this place" and "the American Pietism." There is, indeed, a deep inner harmony in the fundamental view of the nature of Christianity between Pietism and Puritanism. In truth, there are only differences of style between the two movements: German Pietism shows a stronger mystical influence, whereas American Puritanism shows a stronger ethical emphasis and with its Calvinistic heritage stresses election and predestination more. In the individual personalities these differences are almost completely eliminated. Francke thought Cotton Mather was a Pietist after his own fashion; whereas Cotton Mather considered his friend from Halle who worked energetically in the field of social ethics to be a true Puritan.

It will be necessary to investigate more fully the real historical connections between English Puritanism and German Pietism. It is a fact, however, that there were direct and personal relations between the Protestant missions in the New England colonies of North America and the Lutheran missions in East India and that these connections consisted not only in external knowledge and material support, but also in a deep harmony in the awareness of the common evangelical concern for a Christian world mission. There was also a deep concord in the whole mode of piety which was the basis of both missions, most clearly expressed in the common burning expectation of the end of time and in the waiting for a new pouring out of the Holy Spirit.

1 Kenneth Scott Latourette: *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Harper & Brothers, New York/London, 1937-1945. Vol. I-VII.

2 Cp. my observations on the relationship between church history and the history of missions in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Literatur und Geistesgeschichte*, Jg. 1951, under the title, "Universalgeschichte, Kirchengeschichte und Missionsgeschichte."

3 Cp. the expositions in Gustav Warneck: *Abriss einer Geschichte der protestantischen Mission*, 1910, 3. Aufl.; Julius

Richter: *Evangelische Missionsgeschichte* (*Evangelische Missionskunde*, Bd. I), 1927, 2. Aufl.; Carl Mirbt: *Die evangelische Mission in ihrer Geschichte und Eigenart*, 1917; Heinrich Frick: *Die evangelische Mission. Ursprung, Geschichte, Ziel*, 1922.

4 I am preparing a publication of the complete extant correspondence between Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke. Literature on this problem up till now: Kuno Francke: "Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke," in *Americana Germanica*, vol. I, nr. 2, p. 31-

66, 1897; and Kuno Francke: "Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke," in *Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature*, V. 1896, p. 57-67. Also ep. Holmes: *Bibliography*, index under A. H. Francke.

5 For Boehm ep. the D. N. B. Recently the minister of the Lutheran congregation in London, E. Kramm,* published a short study about Boehm in his sketch of the history of the congregation in London.

6 For Ludolf ep. my essay: "August Hermann Francke und die deutschen Gemeinden in Russland," *Jahrbuch fuer Auslandsdeutschum und evangelische Kirche*, 1936, p. 145-157, and D. Tschizwskij: "Der Kreis A. H. Franckes und seine slavistische Studien," *Zeitschrift fuer slavistische Philologie*, XVI. His ecumenical writings deserve special attention.

7 An article: "Pietism and Puritanism" (the influence of the Pietism of Halle on North American Puritanism in the time of A. H. Francke, A. W. Boehm, W. H. Ludolf, and Cotton Mather) is being prepared as a "Studienheft" of the ecumenical seminar of the theological faculty of the University of Marburg.

8 Allen, W. O. B., and McClure, Edmund, in *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1898*, London, 1898, do not say too much about these events, although the support of the East Indian mission is dealt with in a special passage. The director of the SPCK, Canon Parson, very kindly gave me permission to use the archives of the SPCK, where from the records, minutes, and original letters as well as the copies of responding letters and the outlines, I got an impressive picture of the real extent and the intensity of the correspondence between the individual participants and of the tremendous extent of the real help that was given.

9 I have seen the following German publications of the documents of the Tranquebar mission:

1) Der Königl. Dänischen Missionarien aus Ost-Indien eingesandte Ausführliche Berichte von dem Werk ihres Amts unter den Heyden/angerichten Schulen und Gemeinen/ereigneten Hindernissen und schweren Umständen/Beschaffenheit des Malabarischen Heydenthums/gepflöggenen brieflichen Correspondents und mündlichen Unterredungen mit selbigen Heyden; und übrigen Merkwürdigkeiten/so von ihnen/seit ihrer Abreise nach Indien bis zu Anfang des 1714ten Jahres/heraus geschrieben/und hier von Zeit zu Zeit in verschiedenen Fortsetzungen ediret sind; vom Ersten ausführlichen Bericht an bis zu dessen Aechter Continuation mitgetheilet. Halle, Verlegung des Wäysen-Hauses MDCCXV.

2) Herrn Bartholomäus Ziegenbalgs/Königl. Dänischen Missionarii in Tranquebar/auf der Küste Coromandel, Aus-

führlicher Bericht/wie Er/nebst seinem Collegen Herrn Heinrich Plützscho,/Das Amt des Evangelii daselbst unter den Heyden und Christen führe: in einem Sendschreiben an einem vornemen Theologum unserer Evangelischen Kirchen ertheilet/des 22. Augusti 1708. Welchem eine Nach-Erinnerung zur Warnung an den Christlichen Leser/wider die ungleichen Urtheile/dadurch sich einige an diesem Werk versündigen/beygefüget. Die andere Edition. Halle/in Verlegung des Wäysenhauses MDCCXIII, 336 pp.

The English publications I could read were the following:

1) *Propagation of the Gospel in the East: being an Account of the Success of two Danish Missionaries lately sent to the East-Indies for the Conversion of the Heathens in Malabar, in several letters to their Correspondents in Europe* rendered into English from the High-Dutch; and dedicated to the most Honourable Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. London, Printed and sold by J. Downing in Bartholomew Close near West-Smithfield, 1709. Dedication: To the Most Reverend Father in God, Thomas, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury etc., President: and to the Rest of the Members of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

2) *Propagation of the Gospel in the East: being an Account of the Success of the Danish Missionaries, lately sent to the East-Indies. Rendered into English from the High-Dutch* . . . 2nd ed., London 1711.

3) *Propagation of the Gospel in the East: being an Account of the Success of the Danish Missionaries, sent to the East-Indies for the Conversion of the Heathens in Malabar. Extracted from letters of the said Missionaries, and brought down to the Beginning of the Year MDCCXIII. Wherein besides a Narrative of the Progress of the Christian Religion in those Parts, with the Helps and Impediments which hitherto have occurred: several Hints are inserted, concerning the Religion of the Malabarians, their Priests, Poets, and other Literati; and what may be expected from the Printing-Press lately set up at Tranquebar*. London, printed and sold by J. Downing in Bartholomew-Close near West-Smithfield, 1714, 50 pp.

4) *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Geo. Lewis, Chaplain to the Honourable East-India Company, at Fort St. George: Giving an Account of the Method of Instruction used in the Charity-Schools of the Church, called Jerusalem, in Tranquebar, by the Protestant Missionaries there*. Translated from the Portuguese. Copy printed at Tranquebar. London, printed and sold by J. Downing in Bartholomew-Close near West-Smithfield, 1715, (together with an introduction by George Lewis, with the

date of Jan. 25, 1714/15, in London), 32 pp.

5) *A Brief Account of the Measures taken in Denmark for the Conversion of the Heathen in the East-Indies: and of the College or Incorporated Society Erected by the King of Denmark for the Propagation of the Gospel.* Published for the Information of those who earnestly wish the Salvation of the Heathen. Translated from the High-Dutch, London, Printed and sold by J. Downing in Bartholomew-Close near West-Smithfield, 1715, 30 pp.

6) *Propagation of the Gospel in the East: Being an Account of the Success of the two Danish Missionaries, lately sent to the East-Indies, to the Conversion of the Heathens in Malabar. In several Letters to their Correspondents in Europe. Containing a Narrative of their Voyage to the Coast of Coromandel, their Settlement at Tranquebar, The Divinity and Philosophy of the Malabarians, their Language and Manners, the Impediments obstructing their Conversion, the several Methods taken by these Missionaries, the wonderful Providences attending them, and the Progress they have already made.* Rendered into English from High-Dutch: and dedicated to the Most Honourable Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Part I. The third edition. London, printed and sold by J. Downing in Bartholomew-Close near West-Smithfield, 1718, XXXVI + 78 pp. Together with a dedication of an eucumenical content to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, William (Tennison), Part II, London 1718, VIII + 60 pp., Part III, London 1718, XXIV + 231 pp.

7) *Several Letters relating to the Protestant Danish Mission in Tranquebar in the East-Indies.* London, printed by J. Downing in Bartholomew-Close near West-Smithfield, 1720, 28pp.

The English translations which are printed by Downing are all made by A. W. Boehm; but he does not mention his name anywhere.

- 10 Besides his famous life story of Eliot, the missionary among the Indians, Cotton Mather also wrote about missions among the Indians in the following works: *Indian Primer*, 1699/1700, *An Epistle to the Christian Indian*, 1700. *A letter about the present state of Christianity among the Christianized Indians*, 1705, *Theopolis Americana*, 1710, *India Christiana*, 1721. Compare Holmes No. 182, p. 501. This work, on pages 56-61, contains extracts of Francke's above mentioned letter to Cotton Mather with news about the missionary work of B. Ziegenbalg and H. Pluetschow; on pp. 62-70 it contains Cotton Mather's letter to Ziegenbalg, translated into Latin and English. On pp. 75-87 there is the answer to Cotton Mather's letter, the original Latin being written on the right, the English translation being written on

the left. The answer to Mather's letter, however, is not written by the addressee, B. Ziegenbalg, who died on February 23, 1719, but by Johann Ernst Gründler, who answered Cotton Mather's letter of December 31, 1717 on December 10, 1719.

- 11 Some references to missions are found in A. H. Francke's famous work, *Segensvolle Fussstapfen des noch lebenden und waltenden lieblichen und getreuen Gottes, Zur Beschämung des Unglaubens und Stärkung des Glaubens, entdeckt durch eine wahrhafte und umständliche Nachricht von dem Wäysen-Hause und übrigen Anstalten zu Glaucha vor Halle*, published in Halle by the press of the orphan asylum in 1701. The 4th, 5th, and 6th *Fortsetzung* (1709) not only contains supplements on the progress and completion of the building of the foundations in Halle, but also news about the East Indian missionary work which had meanwhile come into existence, all as extracts from the correspondence of the orphan asylum. So, in *Fortsetzung* IV, 9, p. 14, there is a report on missionary work in Tranquebar being in danger through the unchristian behaviour of the white nominal Christians. *Fortsetzung* V, 27, p. 25 ff. tells of gifts for the mission and prints a missionary letter. *Fortsetzung* VI, §74, p. 62 ff. reports on the progress of the work and gives word of the departure of the missionary Ernst Gruendler. Even before the year 1709, parts of reports from the mission field were included in the English edition arranged by A. W. Boehm.

The first English edition appeared under the title: *Pietas Hallensis, Or a Public Demonstration of the Footsteps of a Divine Being yet in the World: in an Historical Narration of the Orphan-House, and other Charitable Institutions, at Glaucha, near Halle in Saxony.* By Augustus Hermannus Franck, Professor of Divinity in the Frederician University of Halle, Pastor at Glaucha and Director of the Pious Foundations there. Continued to the beginning of the year MDCCII, in a Letter to a Friend. And now done out of High-Dutch into English with a Preface bringing it down to the present Time; together with a short History of Pietism, And an Appendix containing several Instruments and Public Papers relating to this Work. London, 1705. This work was highly important for the spread of Pietism in the Anglo-Saxon world. The English edition was reprinted several times and always was supplemented; the title also was changed. The edition of 1787 was published under the title: *The Footsteps of Divine Providence, or, The Bountiful Hand of Heaven defraying the Expenses of Faith: Wonderfully displayed in erecting and managing the Hospital at Glaucha without Halle in the Prussian Dominions, for the Education of Students in Divinity, and for the Reception,*

Cloathing, Feeding, and Educating of Poor Children. Carried on by the Instrumentality of the humble and blessed Servant of God, Augustus Hermannus Francke. London, MDCCCLXXXVII. In Introd. p. XII we find the announcement: The Life and character of the great Dr. Francke speedily will be published by W. Justins, Nr. 35 Shoemaker Row, Blackfriars, near Ludgate-Hill, April 25, 1787.

The 1705 edition of the *Pietas Hallensis* also became known to Cotton Mather. He explicitly refers to it in his letter to A. H. Francke of May 28, 1711, in which he explains to Francke that his work is not known in America. "Legimus, colimus vestigia Dei in illo mirifico Prudentiae divinae monumento conversando ex imo pectore veneramus." These words directly refer to the title of Francke's work. (Cp. Kuno Francke, "The Beginning of Cotton Mather's Correspondence with August Hermann Francke," *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. V, July 1926, Nr. 3, p. 194). In the second English edition there is a reference to the missionary concern of the Pietists in Halle. This second edition was published in Halle under the title: *Pietas Hallensis, Or An Abstract of the Marvellous Footsteps of Divine Providence, in the Building of a very large HOSPITAL or rather, a spacious College, For Charitable and Excellent Uses. And in the maintaining of many Orphans and other Poor People therein; at Glaucha near Halle, in the Dominions of the King of Prussia.* Related by the Reverend Augustus Hermannus Francke, Professor of Divinity and Minister of Glaucha aforesaid. With a Preface written by Josiah Woodward, D. D., and recommended by some Eminent Divines of the Church of England. To which is added a short History of Pietism. The Second Edition enlarged. London 1707. Boehm had succeeded in interesting some Anglicans in Francke's work; he had collected favorable recommendations from prominent Anglican theologians, and had secured an official approbation. He even had persuaded one of the most important contemporary Anglican preachers to write a preface.

In his introduction Josiah Woodward points out five tasks to the solution of which Francke's work contributes:

1. The Suppression of Scandalous Impiety and Vice.
 2. The pious Instruction of Youth and ignorant Families.
 3. The Cultivation of Religion by pious Conferences.
 4. The Propagation of the Christian Faith among Infidels.
 5. To all which excellent undertakings it is exceedingly to be wished that one more may be added: to wit vigorous Endeavours for Protestant Unions.
- "And blessed be God, we have many excellent Persons among us as fit to

carry on this happy work as they are eminent in all the rest: whose admirable example is very humbly and earnestly recommended to all that bear the great and venerable Name of Christians" (Pr. p. VI-VII). Under 4) Woodward explicitly refers to the work of the "Propagation of the Christian Faith among Infidels."

- 12 Cp. Kuno Francke, *op. cit.*, according to Cotton Mather's *Diary* II, 23: "I presented the Methods of Piety proposed in these Essays (i.e. "Dust and Ashes" and "Heavenly Conversation") as being the true American Pietism . . . I shall endeavour to send these things unto Dr. Franckius in Saxony, at the Frederician University." In the preface to the "Heavenly Conversation" he repeats "that this essay might be entitled American Pietism. As there is a Fanatick, so there is an Orthodox, a Reformed and Heavenly Pietism . . ." Here we also find the enthusiastic address to A. H. Francke: "Go on, my dear Franckius, and thy coadjutors. The Lord is with you, ye mighty men of piety" (Preface).

- 13 See *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, Part I and II. A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Lewis, giving an Account of the Method of Instruction used in the Charity Schools at Tranquebar. An Account of the Measures taken in Denmark for the Conversion of the Heathens in the East-Indies, etc.

- 14 The exact title is: *Nuncia Bona e Terra Longiqua. A Brief Account of some Good and Great Things doing for the Kingdom of God, in the Midst of Europe, Communicated in a Letter to—, from Cotton Mather, D. D. and F. R. S., Boston in New England 1715, (cp. Holmes, p. 753, No. 259, A-C) and Americana Germanica Vol. I, No. 4 (12), pp. 32-53.* The expression "Nuncia Bona" apparently is meant to be a Latin translation of *evangelium*. Cotton Mather makes a play on this title in his letter to Ziegenbalg and Pluetschow: "Et quae per divinam gratiam in Asia . . . fecistis, in America . . . nuncia bona e terra longiqua inter christianos Americanos audiuntur."

The edition of *Nuncia Bona* also shows that Cotton Mather had besides Francke's letter also the printed English edition of the *Pietas Hallensis* of 1707, London; for in the postscript of the *Nuncia Bona* there is a commendatory mention of the founding of Halle by Dr. Kennet. This is printed in the English edition of the *Pietas Hallensis*, London 1707, which contains three things:

1. the above mentioned preface of Josiah Woodward, D. D., pref. i-vii,
2. the recommendation of another eminent divine of the Church of England, pref. viii-ix,
3. a passage out of a sermon preached at the Annual Meeting of the Children educated in the Charity Schools in Lon-

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don and Westminster, May 16, 1706. By the Rev. Dr. White Kennet, Archdeacon of Huntington, p. 15 sequ. of the said Sermon. Cotton Mather took White's praise of the orphan asylum in Halle out of the *Pietas Hallensis* for his *Nuncia Bona*.

- 15 There it is said, referring to Francke's letter to Cotton Mather, p. ix: "But of this and other Particulars, the letter here annexed will give the Reader a true summary Account, which being writ by the Director of those Foundations to a Divine in America (in Answer to one received from Him) the Substance thereof is, as a Desire of some Gentlemen who happened to see it in Latin, turned into English and prefixed by way of a general Introduction to the following Narrations of the Marvellous Footsteps of Providence." From this we can conclude that Boehm was well informed about the pre-history of Francke's letter to Cotton Mather, that the Latin original letter was circulated among several English readers, that there was a desire to have the letter in an English translation. The reference to the fact that the letter was written by the director of the foundations of Halle himself and is Francke's reply to a letter of Cotton Mather sounds almost like a correction of the changing of the name which was done by Cotton Mather in his *Nuncia Bona*.

- 16 There is printed similar enthusiastic praise of the missionaries in the *Sixth Continuation of the Report of the Missionaries of the King of Denmark in East India etc.*, Halle MDCCXV, p. 295, out of a Latin letter written by an unknown person to Ziegenbalg: "Vos minime latet quo opus sit praestantius in Dei gloriam, ad animae immortalis salutem, eo maior plerumque difficultas: mille struit insidias Satanas malevolus: infinitos posuit obices pietatis hostis. At lucis Jesus erit instar omnium pax Christi erit comes iucundissimus. Pergite, Fratres, Pergite. Deus procerto est vobiscum, Deus e coelo est vobis amicus."

- 17 At several points of this extensive work there appears a heightened eschatological consciousness, especially where he speaks about the importance of America in the history of redemption. In

Theopolis Americana, Boston 1710, p. 51, he says, e. g., "Inasmuch as we are now doubtless arrived unto that point of Time in which we may be under a daily Expectation, that the Seventh Trumpet of the Revolutions foretold in the most sure word of Prophecy will begin to sound, and the Great Trumpet shall be blown, in the joyful sound whereof America may hope for a share; it may prove an agreeable entertainment unto some good men, to have a vacant page or two here filled with a brief Recapitulation of the Things that are shortly to come to pass."

Cotton Mather's eschatological expectations had their effects in the USA for a very long time. In the *Second Advent Library* No. VII, February 12, 1842, there is a treatise by the Rev. Charles Fitch, *Reasons for Believing the Second Advent of our Lord Jesus Christ in 1843*, Boston. This treatise contains a letter to Rev. J. Litch on the Second Coming of Christ; with the sentiments of Cotton Mather on the Same Subject, approved by Thomas Prince, by Charles Fitch, Boston 1841. On p. 52 there is quoted a passage from Samuel Mather *The Life of the Very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather*, 1729, p. 140, as a summary of Cotton Mather's thought: "The second coming of the Lord will be at hand for the destruction of the man of Sin and the extinction of the Roman monarchy under the papal form of it . . ." On p. 56 he says: "By all just and fair computations, the twelve hundred and sixty years allowed for the Papal Empire must be nearly, if not quite expired. By consequence the one thousand and three hundred and thirty-five years, which will bring the time of the end, when Daniel, with every other good man, is to rise and stand in his lot, are not likely to extend beyond the present century."

- 18 How great the spiritual strain was, can be seen, e.g., from the fact that the Indian tribe in whose language Eliot, the missionary among the Indians and friend of Cotton Mather, translated the whole Bible, was already completely wiped out by the white race by the time the printed translation of the Bible finally appeared as the result of his life work; so that Eliot's lifelong labor necessarily seemed to be fruitless.

LEARNING IN AUSTRIA ABOUT 1300 — NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS*

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This paper is limited to a brief critique of current opinion regarding the state of learning in Austria about 1300, to a survey of the most important recent developments in the study of the subject, and to suggestions for future study.

To begin with the critique—and specifically the critique of the widely held opinion that learning declined in Austria and the other Germanies after the early 13th Century. The prevailing opinion claims that learning was adversely affected by such disturbing developments as the clash of the monarchical papacy and the Empire of the Hohenstaufen, the Mongol terror, the chaos of *Faustrecht* after 1250, the Great Interregnum, widespread fires, devastating floods and crop failures.¹ This view fails adequately to reckon with similarly distressing circumstances elsewhere in Europe outside the Germanies of the 13th and 14th Centuries, such as: the disorder in the Angevin-Plantagenet Dominions during the reign of Henry III and the troubles with the DeMontforts; the preliminaries at Courtrai in 1302 of the future Hundred Years War between England and France; the conflict of Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII; the proceedings against the Templars; the beginnings of the Avignonese papacy; the wars of Edward I and Scotland; the constant bitter factional wars of the petty tyrants in Italy and the persisting feudal rivalries of the Spains. The existing view has, to be sure, powerful support in the growth of the universities as corporations everywhere but in the Germanies.

The force of the prevailing wind of opinion has now been somewhat lessened by a better understanding of secondary and university education in the Middle Ages and a better understanding of Germano-Austrian and Italian affairs as a result of recent German scholarship.² The older conception of an Empire forever weakened by the imperial dream has been exploded, and in its place we now have the well-authenticated measures of the Emperor Frederick II of the Hohenstaufen house to establish full monarchical government in his beloved

*This paper was presented at the session on medieval education at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Chicago, Illinois, December 27, 1950.

Sicily while freeing the German *Fürsten*, both lay and ecclesiastical, from imperial interference. A better understanding today exists of the fluctuations of the drift in the Germanies and elsewhere toward the territorial state.³ German scholars have, indeed, carefully re-examined the origins of the concept of the territorial sovereign state in the Constitutions of Melfi of 1231 and in the earlier privileges granted to the German princes.⁴ The floods, famines and fires so often reported in chronicles are now considered constants of medieval life and seem often to have stimulated interest in a revival of monastic discipline and learning, rather than the contrary. To be sure, the ever-present threat of Hungarian raids was a special feature of feudal life in the Germanies.

In short, despite a revived feudalism in the Germanies in general, and in Austria in particular, learning remained actually an important element of traditional medieval life in the 13th and 14th Centuries. This learning is worthy of study for its own sake, as well as by contrast with the somewhat different contexts of the somewhat different learning being developed in the universities of the traditional and feudal Spains as well as the less traditional and also less feudal France and England, and quasi-feudal Italy. Indeed, learning and monastic discipline in late 13th Century Austria, Bavaria and Styria should be studied ultimately in comparison with the learning and monastic discipline of feudalisms as widely sundered from Europe as Persia, India and Japan.

The presence of learned men was an important factor in Austrian intellectual life about 1300. The outstanding mind of medieval Germany of the 13th Century, Albertus Magnus, sojourned for two years in the city of Ratisbon as its bishop, lived on elsewhere to a vast age, and mightily affected those who came after him. The best known, the most widely educated and many-sided of Austrian Benedictines about 1300 was Abbot Engelbert of Admont.⁶ Engelbert's best known works, *De ortu et progressu et fine Romani Imperii* and *De regimine principum*, have long been carefully studied and will soon appear in definitive form in forthcoming volumes of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.⁷ The collation of seven of the known manuscripts of *De ortu* had been completed by Dr. Ottokar Menzel in 1939.⁸ Since Dr. Menzel's unfortunate death during the war and the loss of all his papers, the task of editing these two works has been given to Dr. Theodor E. Mommsen of Princeton University.⁹ Monsignor Pelzer has reported that Professor Ernst Schulz, the distinguished paleographer, has lately identified three hitherto unknown works of Engelbert.¹⁰ Professor Schulz continues thus the valuable work begun when he located a lost tract of the Admontine abbot.¹¹ I have been fortunate

in obtaining microfilms of many of Engelbert's unpublished works and am presently engaged in studying them.¹²

Profitable utilization of Engelbert's works and his place in the intellectual history of his time will depend on a number of preliminary studies. Professor Schulz, several years ago, cautioned against premature conclusions about the Abbot of Admont and urged a thorough study of his famous letter to his friend, Ulrich von Wien.¹³ Schulz especially urged a study of the Reun copy of the famous letter. I have been fortunate in obtaining a microfilm copy of this Reun exemplar and have found little variation from existing published texts. As I now have photographs on microfilm of all known manuscript copies, I hope in the near future to publish an improved text of this unique letter.¹⁴

Professor Schulz has aided future work on Engelbert greatly because he established clearly several distinctive attributes of Engelbert's style. Other questions which should be studied are numerous, and only a few are here suggested. For example, no study exists as yet of the possible influence he may have had upon his contemporaries. The chronicler Johann von Viktring expresses a very high degree of admiration for Engelbert,¹⁵ and his friendship for Master Ulrich, head of the municipal school of St. Stephan in Vienna, is well known, but no study as yet exists showing the possibility of Engelbert's having influenced Johann's Ghibelline views. Nor has any careful study been made of his friendship with Johann von Chiemsee, another admirer.

It is known that the great Admontine Missal, which was the work of North Italian artists of the school of Giovanni de Gaibana, was probably prepared at Engelbert's order. The degree to which this North Italian school of manuscript illumination affected the *scriptoria* of Styria and Austria needs, however, thorough study. His friendship for the astrologer Bartholomew of Verona suggests that he may also have been acquainted with the mysterious Leopold of Austria whose astrological meteorology, written before 1300, was often quoted by later writers.¹⁶ Engelbert speaks of Heinrich von Roteneck, Bishop of Ratisbon, as his *specialis amicus*,¹⁷ and we should like to know more of the relationships between the Abbot of Admont and other bishops of his day. The fact that the learned Abbess Mathilde headed the women's cloister at Admont¹⁸ reminds us that there were many well educated women in Austria about 1300. Another outstanding lady was Margaret II von Gebing, Abbess of Nonnberg, from 1307 to 1321, who, like Engelbert, was associated with St. Peter's in Salzburg.¹⁹

One of the most interesting hitherto unexplored aspects of Engelbert's many-sided activities as a learned man is his consciousness,

along with some of his noteworthy contemporaries, like Nicholas Vischel, of the corruptness of Holy Writ. It is believed that their awareness of the problem of correcting corrupt texts stems from their studies with the Dominicans.²⁰ Engelbert had studied with them in Padua; Nicholas, in Paris.

Nicholas Vischel is unique among the learned men so far known to us in Austria about 1300 because he had studied with rabbis and knew Hebrew.²¹ While in Paris, he had heard lectures on the Talmud. There is some reason to believe that he went to Palestine. Like Engelbert, in his works he cites the Old Testament, the New Testament, nearly all the church fathers, lives of the saints, canon law, Greek and Roman classical writers; unlike Engelbert, he also cites the Talmud, the Sefer, Toldoth Jeschu and Maimonides' *Liber directionis perplexorum*. Nicholas Vischel dedicates some of his works to learned friends like Ernest, Prior and Lector of the Augustinian Eremites in Baden. Perhaps Nicholas is the unknown author of an Austrian chronicle extending from 973 to 1315, and he is known to have continued the Austrian chronicle begun by the Viennese burgher, Paltram, for the years 1301 to 1310.²² Nicholas's influence has been described as that of "*haute vulgarisation*." We might call him a kind of Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen of his day.

Again, as in the case of Engelbert, many of Nicholas' works need to be edited and published before we can speak with assurance of his role in the intellectual history of his time. Studies of his friendships and associates would reveal much on the quality and quantity of learning in Austria around 1300. Did he know Engelbert, for example? Did he extend the work of his famous predecessor, Gutolf, as the leading light of scholarship at Heiligenkreuz? Did he take part in some of the witch-hunts against the Jews, or did he use his learning to chasten the mob? Who was the Master Ambrose mentioned by Nicholas as the author of a work known to us only from the single copy extant in a Klosterneuburg manuscript?²³ Since Nicholas Vischel had heard lectures at Paris from Albertus Magnus, Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Ptolemy of Lucca, Roger Bacon, Raymond Lull, among others, what are the evidences of their influence on his writings?

Ulrich von Wien, Engelbert's good and great friend, is an important figure among the learned men in Austria about 1300.²⁴ Ulrich's importance is shown in part by the unique lengthy autobiographical letter sent him sometime after 1320 by Engelbert when the latter was over seventy. A better indication of his importance is the fact that he was head of the first and most famous of the municipal schools in Austria of the late 13th and early 14th Centuries. His students ex-

pressed their appreciation of him in a poem of considerable interest because of the wide reading of Greco-Roman classics indicated therein.²⁵ Ulrich is also known to be the author of many works on grammar and rhetoric, as well as a commentary on the *De congelatione et conglutinatione lapidum* of Avicenna, a work which, according to Grabmann, indicates good use of Albertus Magnus. Ulrich's school at Vienna had the support of the Duke of Austria and, presumably, of such prominent contemporary burghers as Vatzö.²⁶

There were many other municipal schools being established in this period. For example, a secular *Volksschule* was established at Melk in 1315 and soon thereafter, at Klosterneuburg.²⁷ Duke Rudolph, in 1305, gave the towns of Krems and Steyr permission to found schools (*Mittelschule*) in which no pupil was permitted to carry "a knife or a sword and no one might take his book as the guarantee for the payment of a wager."²⁸ From the 14th Century, indeed, there were schools also in Gars, Hainburg, Horn, Laa-an-der-Donau, and many other places.²⁹ In Upper Austria there were schools in Enns, Gmunden, Styr, Wels, etc. In Styria there were schools at Judenburg, Leoben, Marburg, Muran; in Carinthia, in Friesach, Klagenfurt, Obervellach, St. Veit, Völkermarkt, etc.; in Vorarlberg and the Tyrol at Lienz, Klausen, Schladners, Zans, etc. Usually these schools were at first run by the clergy for the clergy, but very soon they admitted the children of lay folk. Girls were first educated at home and then in the cloister. They learned the art of reading and writing, perhaps even more assiduously than their brothers, unless indeed the latter were destined for the monastery or the priesthood. Of course, the girls learned also the special skills of the distaff side of the family—spinning, weaving, sewing and housework.

One of the most important aspects of learning in Austria about 1300 was a remarkable interest in history and history writing. Many of the monastic chronicles were begun at this time and were continued by very able writers. The important chronicles of Johann von Viktring, Bernardus Noricus, Nicholas Vischel, and above all, the famous Styrian *Rhymed Chronicle* were written at this time. Bernardus Noricus has been identified as Sigmar the Cellarer at Kremsmünster, but some obscurity still surrounds him, despite many investigations over the years. Georg Leidinger, in a masterly study in 1917,³⁰ seemed to have disposed of the question, but a study was published in 1947 at Kremsmünster by W. Neumüller³¹ in which Bernardus Noricus seems to have been rescued finally from the shadows of scholarly oblivion. The author of the *Steirische Reimchronik* was definitely identified in 1937 by M. Loehr as the Knight Otacher ous der Geul.³² Otacher was the friend and counselor of the Lords of Liechtenstein.

He is known to have travelled to Spain in the entourage of Rudolf, son of Otto von Liechtenstein and Abbot Otto von St. Lambrecht, who were charged with concluding the negotiations for the marriage of the Austrian Duke to the Infanta Isabelle of Aragon.³³ Both Otacher and Johann von Viktring enjoyed exceptional opportunities of gaining firsthand information about the times for which their works are most valuable sources, i.e. 1250 to 1343.³⁴ Both are valuable also for having preserved many legends and traditions of the German-speaking folk—legends which are known to be particularly rich and numerous in Austria and Styria. Otacher's work was, of course, written in the German language of the day.

Another leading personage among the learned men of Austria around 1300 was the famous Friedrich von Aich, Abbot of Kremsmünster—famous not because of any writing which he did, but because of his tireless encouragement of learning.³⁵ In his time, Kremsmünster was reborn after the disasters of the late 13th Century. The library was increased, inventories were ordered made, on the basis of which important historical chronicles were written. A book list was prepared, and on each book a note was written which declared the ownership of the monastery. All theological books were thenceforth found together in the library and in the list. For example, the writings of St. Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Origen, Cyprian and Bernard; Biblica; liturgica; homiletica of famous doctors; books of legal content; philosophical works; studies from astrology, arithmetic and geometry, physics, music, rhetoric, medicine, and finally, historical works. The handwriting of the elusive Bernardus Noricus appears on many of the manuscripts. The list was, in fact, not a mere summary, but a description of each work. During the years he held the *infula*, many books were left to the Abbey of Kremsmünster as a legacy. At Klosterneuburg, as well as at Kremsmünster, we find an extensive interest in the library,³⁶ and this interest could be duplicated in many other Austrian monasteries of the day. There was much borrowing of books between the cathedral library at Passau and the monastic library at St. Florian.³⁷ Even lay persons were conscious of the value of books as, for example, can be seen when, in 1292, Gundakar von Starhemberg presented a mill to St. Florian as support for his soul and for his son and namesake "who gave himself to God there."³⁸ Whatever penny income over a pound the mill brought in was to remain to the younger Gundakar "so that he might buy books with it" (*daz er darumbe puoch chauf*). Heinrich von Roteneck, Bishop of Ratisbon, (1277-1296) had old books with musical notes replaced by Franciscan books with notes on lines.³⁹

Among those who made extensive use of the libraries were several

learned men—and especially three: Nicholas Vischel, Gutolf, also of Heiligenkreuz, and Engelbert of Admont. It is certain that if their writings and their acquaintances were fully known, we should be better able to determine their place in intellectual history.

Gutolf von Heiligenkreuz has been hailed as one of the best contemporary chroniclers, as an able poet, an ardent classical scholar, as well as skilled speaker, preacher and teacher.⁴⁰ He used the best 12th century French works available and even corrected them.⁴¹ The *Historia Annorum*, written by Gutolf at Heiligenkreuz and covering the years 1264 to 1279, has been praised as "positively the most valuable" account we have of that period. Professor Anton E. Schoenbach carefully studied the richness of Gutolf's classical background, as demonstrated in his grammatical works.⁴² Schoenbach and his younger colleague, Oswald Redlich, also showed the historical value of Gutolf's narrative poem: *Translatio Sanctae Delicianae*.⁴³ Father Severin Grill demonstrated in 1937 that Nicholas Vischel was fully as competent as Gutolf to continue at the same monastery another historical chronicle for the years 1301 to 1310.⁴⁴

In 1929 an important contribution of Professor Franz Martin cast new light upon a hitherto neglected aspect of learning in the time of Engelbert of Admont and his contemporaries.⁴⁵ Here, not altogether with surprise, we find that many of the most important ecclesiastics of Austria were once private secretaries, notaries, chaplains, or physicians. Not only were such persons often learned and possessed of higher academic degree gained by study in Italy or France, but it can be inferred that they were able administrators and emissaries because they also frequently travelled on official missions. We learn, for example, that Heinrich von Haus, in 1290, left his post in the Chancellery of the Archbishop of Salzburg to study at Padua, leaving his books to the canons of the Cathedral in case of his death.⁴⁶ Heinrich went to Italy under the very best auspices as a member of the embassy led by Conrad, the Bishop of Lavant.⁴⁷ Conrad undertook the journey in order to obtain confirmation at Rome of the election of young Stephen, Duke of Bavaria, as Archbishop of Salzburg. The Pope refused to approve the postulated candidate and named Conrad, Archbishop of Salzburg, and Heinrich von Haus, Bishop of Lavant. The action of the apostolic see presumably ended any hopes Heinrich may have had to study at Padua. In 1299, Heinrich became Bishop of Gurk, and died some twenty-seven years later in that important post. We should like to know if he ever made use of his learning. We should like to know, too, of one Engelbert, Priest of St. Margaret's in Beuthen, who resigned his position in 1293 in order to study canon

law abroad,⁴⁸ and of the "learned jurist Albero Pleichobo who was writing at Lambach about 1320."

Another example of a career based on interest in learning is afforded by the account, largely autobiographical to be sure, of a certain Gundacher, who had made his monastic vows at Admont, and early attracted the favorable attention of the redoubtable Abbot Henry II, predecessor of the pious and bookish Engelbert.⁴⁹ Gundacher, who calls himself an ardent student of philosophy, stood high in the regard of Duke Frederick III, whose chaplain he became for a time. He also attracted the attention of the brilliant Archbishop of Salzburg, Wichard von Polheim, who made him his private secretary and Abbot of Mondsee. From 1318 to 1324, as Abbot of Seitenstetten, Gundacher was one of the outstanding men of his day.

A major activity of the feudal courts of Austria in this period was the translation of Latin documents into German.⁵⁰ Burkhard von Frikke, private secretary to Albert I, translated from Latin into German at Ensisheim the bulk of the official communications of the Austrian *advocati*. In 1307, we find another layman, Master Conrad of Linz, secretary to Duke Frederick III of Upper Austria.⁵¹

In the restoration and maintenance of firm monastic discipline, perhaps the most outstanding figure was Einwik Weizlan (1295-1313), Provost of St. Florian, a monastery of the Augustinian canons.⁵² Scholars from other cloisters were often sent to this monastery on account of its reputation for thoroughness. No other cloister in Austria was so famous for its sustained effort in carrying out literally the reforms advocated by popes from Innocent III to John XXII.⁵³ In 1301, under the orders of Bernhard von Prambach, Bishop of Passau, Provost Einwik was appointed along with Abbot Christian of Engelzell and Provost Eckard of St. Pölten to a Board of Visitation for regular inspection of all Augustinian and Benedictine monasteries "unter der Enns."⁵⁴ In 1303, the same Bishop of Passau saluted St. Florian as a "lamp of the monastic order and an example of the monastic life."⁵⁵

Einwik did more than merely restore the buildings which had been destroyed and plundered in the mid-thirteenth century. In spite of a heavy administrative load, he also did much to revive literary and artistic activity at St. Florian.⁵⁶ A music school was established and Hertwik von Schlüsselberg completed beautiful stained glass windows. Einwik himself wrote a biography of the recluse Wilbirgis which affords us a wonderful picture of the life of the age, and recalls the similar biography of another pious nun by Gutolf von Heiligenkreuz. As early as the 13th century, St. Florian had had its own theological institute (Lehranstalt) and a notable library. The library reflects

growing interest in natural science, history, materia medica and Roman law. Einwik's private secretary, Albert von Aschel, upon his death in 1340, left a list of books which he bequeathed to his friends.⁵⁷

Only slightly less important than Einwik Weizlan as restorers and patrons of learning, were Ortolf von Prank, Provost of Seckau, (1259-1289)⁵⁸ and Ulrich II, Abbot of Melk (1306-1324).⁵⁹ Ortolf was aided by another Ulrich, an able theologian. At Seckau, an important institute for lay brothers was maintained in good order and discipline at a time when other cloisters, e.g., Beuron, avoided the responsibility. At Stift Seckau, we find: 1) the canons themselves in charge of choral services, care of souls and special exercises; 2) the *conversos (fratres) laicos*, who performed tasks involving physical labor; 3) *scolares internos inter regulares canonicos educatos*, who were young students looking ahead to later entrance into the order; 4) *scolares externos*, who were merely instructed there.⁶⁰ Thus, much as his younger contemporary Einwik was to do at St. Florian, Ortolf developed the monastery, first in respect to outward things, and then in respect to spiritual or internal affairs.

Nor does there seem to have been any decline of learning at Garsten under Abbots Gottschalk (1290-1294), Ulrich III von Kremsmünster (1297-1306), Friedrich von Kremsmünster (1306-1317), and Otto (1317-1333). Disputes were generally settled to the advantage of Garsten by the Duke of Austria. The works of Thomas Aquinas were most often read in the thriving monastic library. We learn also of the presence of works like the apocryphal Bible of the Blessed Virgin, the works of Aristotle, a collection of canon law, Decretals, the works of Albertus Magnus, Anselm of Canterbury, and Bernard of Clairvaux. Garsten annals tell of a famous calligrapher who copied and ornamented some twenty-six works of this kind, which Abbot Otto incorporated into the library. Bishop Albert of Passau threatened with excommunication anyone removing these precious volumes from the abbey.

The influence of travel abroad by Austrians and of non-Austrians settling in Austria is a neglected aspect of learning. Mention is often made of the sojourns in foreign countries of Nicholas Vischel, of Engelbert of Admont, and Otacher ouz der Geul, and we should like to know more about these visits abroad. But there are many other travelers who deserve to be better known. We find, for example, that despite his many administrative duties, Abbot Ulrich I of Metten never lost his love of learning, and toward the end of his life, determined to visit the University of Bologna where, in 1316, he died.⁶² No study exists similar to that of Professor Franz Martin on the Chancellery of the Salzburg Archdiocese,⁶³ on the degree to which travel affected learned

men of the early 14th Century and other contemporary forerunners of Fulbright awards. We know that Engelbert's two years at Prague and nine years at Padua were important for him, and that Nicholas Vischel's years at Paris were important for him but no careful study of their works exists with a view to determining to what extent they were influenced by foreign study. Little use seems to have been made of the fact that the Crusades, which, as Professor Atiya has made very clear,⁶⁴ did not cease with the fall of Acre in 1292, overwhelmed Austria with pilgrims, traders and adventurers.⁶⁵ For instance, a whole new hospice had to be constructed about 1350 at St. Florian. This monastery stood near the region of Linz, Enns, Steyr and Wels, and the military road to Vienna and the East. We do know that one Heinrich von Heimburg (born in 1242), a monk of the monastery at Saar in Moravia, sojourned in Lower Austria during the years 1268 to 1274.⁶⁶ We may infer, accordingly, that Heinrich's historical annals for the years 1270 to 1300 acquired high repute, possibly on account of his travels. We hear too of one Conrad of Megenberg,⁶⁷ a Dominican Friar, born in Munich in 1309, who trained at Erfurt and studied eight years in Padua where he became a master in theology before returning to Germany about 1337. Investigation would probably uncover other travelers like the Bavarian students reported by the *scholasticus* Wolfgang von Niederaltaich to have brought back from Paris *magna librorum volumina*.⁶⁸ Some—how much is not fully determined—Byzantine influence seems evident in manuscripts copied and decorated about 1300 and acquired by various Austrian cloisters.⁶⁹ Heinrich II, Bishop of Trent, is known as a member of the Order of Teutonic Knights, as well as a doctor of laws (*doctor decretorum*),⁷⁰ which degree was at that time to be acquired only outside the Germanies. Bernard, Bishop of Seckau (1268 to 1283), had earlier been a professor of canon law at Padua⁷¹ and afterward dean of the Cathedral in Passau. It is not known when or where, during his ten years' sojourn in Italy, Otacher ouz der Geul, the learned knight and author of the Styrian Rhymed Chronicle, became acquainted with Master Conrad von Rotenberg,⁷² a translator at the Court of King Manfred von Hohenstaufen. We should like to know more of the education of Rudolph, son of Otto von Liechtenstein, one of the members of the embassy of 1313 to the Court of King James of Aragon, mentioned above.⁷³

Such visits to the Papal Court at Avignon as were undertaken in 1315 by Bishop-elect Gerhard von Walsee of Passau,⁷⁴ and in 1324 by Abbot Friedrich von Aich of Kremsmünster,⁷⁵ inevitably arouse our curiosity as to possible borrowing and copying of books and interchange of ideas. It is clear that we shall not know the answers to the questions

raised above until we have more studies like that of Professor Ernest Schulz⁷⁶ who plowed deeper one of the furrows first dug by the late Monsignor Martin Grabmann.⁷⁷ Schulz positively identified Engelbert of Admont as the anonymous writer of the tract *De corpore domini*. This tract was written for his own solace by Engelbert and it was directed against the doctrine of impanation of Master John of Paris. The following lines appear significantly near the beginning of Engelbert's tract:

Since, indeed, there have lately arisen certain persons in the city of Paris who wish to discover anew, or rather, to revive anew a certain method discovered still earlier . . . this new method, or rather, ancient method now revived was recently publicly debated in the presence of all the masters and scholars at Paris, and strongly defended . . . so that finally the whole question, as discussed along with the responses and decisions of the university, was referred to the Apostolic See, from whence it was brought to me to our regions by friends and associates.⁷⁸

There is one aspect of learning in Austria in the present context which is more difficult than any other for us in the 20th century, especially in America, to appreciate—an aspect of learning often more easily understood and experienced by persons of little or no systematic training—and especially deserving of study. I refer to the inner spirit present in most Austrian episcopal, monastic and municipal schools about 1300.⁷⁹ This inner glow is perhaps most evident in the luminous stained glass windows of the many monastic churches and chapels. We know many such churches and chapels were built in early Gothic style about 1300 in Upper Austria,⁸⁰ e.g., at St. Florian, Wilhering, Kremsmünster; and in Lower Austria, e.g., at Klosterneuburg, Zwettl and several cloisters in or near Vienna. This inner glow is evident also in some of the writings of Engelbert of Admont.⁸¹ Accordingly, some authors list Engelbert among the mystics. About 1300, in Austria and Southern Germany, even the better-educated were far more traditional, far more loyal and far more devout than is usually appreciated, and Engelbert's love of solitude and contemplation was shared by many. Gutolf von Heiligenkreuz surrendered the dignity of Abbot of Marienburg in Hungary in order to return to the life of a simple monk.⁸² There is much evidence that at this time, under the patronage and leadership of a self-conscious aristocracy, extensive mysticism, a well-developed feudalism, ardent monastic discipline and pious interest in learning—all flourished together in Austria. To relate the Austrian medieval tradition to intellectual history in the broadest sense, however, it becomes necessary to compare intellectual and spiritual life along the Danube with intellectual and spiritual life in other societies like Sassanid Persia, Moslem Andalusia and Kamakura Japan.

Some years ago, Albert Hauck⁸³ suggested that because of their failure to establish their own *studia generalia*, Germans and Austrians of the 13th and early 14th centuries were relatively freer from the limits imposed by the growth elsewhere of carefully constructed philosophical systems. Hauck says that Germans and Austrians of this period were thus able to move more freely, more individually. He asserts that they often followed a middle course between the methods of scientific discussion and stylistic convention. Frequently they wrote in the vernacular. In short, we may conclude that learning in Austria had certain traditional, certain alien, and certain native attributes that deserve more careful study.

Interesting parallels and contrasts to Austria are offered by feudal Japan in the same period when the traditional Buddhist and Confucian learning was modified by new ideas from China and by certain autochthonous feudal influences. The role of monastic discipline in Japan and Austria is central to any fundamental understanding of learning in these countries about 1300. In Japan of the Kamakura Shoguns, Zen monastic discipline was perpetually a revivifying factor; along the Danube and in the lands ruled by the Hapsburgs, Benedictine and Cistercian discipline long determined the quality of learning. Such wider general impressions must, however, be held tentatively until many comparative studies have been made of institutions and of all available evidences of intellectual aspiration, activity and attainment, East and West. Such comparative studies should be made preferably along the fundamental lines suggested especially by the late Professor Asakawa of Yale,⁸⁴ by Professor Marc Bloch of the Sorbonne,⁸⁵ and by Professor Ernst Robert Curtius of Bonn,⁸⁶ one of the most distinguished living medievalists.

Before a competent intellectual history of Austria in the 13th and early 14th Centuries can be written, much preliminary spadework needs to be undertaken and completed. While there has been magnificent and painstaking research during the last century in editing and publishing numerous annals and chronicles, illuminated manuscripts, and especially the Austrian *Urkundenbücher*, these should now be carried to completion according to the long-range plans set forth many years ago. *Urkundenbücher*, annals, chronicles and illuminated books are, to be sure, a veritable mine of reliable source material for determining who was where, when, with whom and, often, under what circumstances. To be useful for intellectual history, they should, however, be studied in connection with the formidable number of unpublished writings of Austrian scholars of the period. The studies that have been made thus far to rescue from obscurity the most important Austrian writers of the Middle Ages, should be con-

tinued and extended. Even competent appraisal of the whole problem cannot be said to be on a firm footing until existing manuscript catalogs of medieval collections, not now accessible, are published.

- 1 W. Mayr, "Kurze Geschichte des österreichischen Benediktineriums," in Tausch, H., ed., *Benediktinisches Mönchtum in Oesterreich*, Wien, Verlag Herder, 1949, 41-44; A. Humbert, "Autriche avant 1519," *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Vol. V, Paris, 1931, cols. 851-853; A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 1st and 2nd eds., Leipzig, 1911, V. Teil, 1. Hälfte, p. 243. A decadence of Benedictinism, excepting only Belgium, Northern France, Bavaria, and England, is noted by U. Berlière, "Le recrutement dans les monastères Bénédictins aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles," *Académie royale de Belgique. Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires*, XVIII (1924), fasc. 6, 18.
- 2 Cf. the references in G. Barraclough, ed., *Studies in Medieval History*, Vols. I-IV, Oxford, 1938-1948; L. Thorndike, "Elementary and Secondary Education in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, XV (Oct., 1940), No. 4, 400-408.
- 3 Mitteis, Heinrich, *Der Staat des hohen Mittelalters* (Grundlinien einer vergleichenden Verfassungsgeschichte des Lehnzeitalters), 3. Auflage, Weimar, Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1948, 400-429.
- 4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 402-406; 422-426.
- 5 W. Mayr, *op. cit.*, 44.
- 6 Hauck, *op. cit.*, 244.
- 7 Letter to me from Prof. Dr. F. Baethgen of the *Monumenta* dated July 13, 1950.
- 8 "Jahresbericht," *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters*, II (1938), 12; and III (1939), 11.
- 9 Letter from Prof. Baethgen cited above.
- 10 Not mentioned in Engelbert's letter to Master Ulrich (cited below), these works will further illustrate Engelbert's characteristic style. A. Pelzer in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XXXIX Nos. 1-2, 1943, 227-228.
- 11 E. Schulz, "Zur Beurteilung Engelberts von Admont," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XXIX (1939), 51-63. Cf. also O. Menzel, "Bemerkungen zur Staatslehre Engelberts von Admont und ihrer Wirkung," *Corona Quernea. Festgabe Karl Strecker zum 80. Geburtstag dargebracht* (Schriften des Reichsinstituts für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, Bd. 6), Leipzig, 1941, pp. 390-408.
- 12 I am especially grateful for many courtesies in this regard to: Dr. Max Müller, formerly Oberbibliotheksrat der öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg; the manuscript divisions of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, and the National and University Library of Prague.
- 13 Schulz, *op. cit.*, p. 52, n. 6. He especially urged comparison of Ms. Cod. Lat. Runensis 60, fols. 139v-141r, dated 1357, with other copies.
- 14 The last portion of this Reun Ms., lacking in earlier editions of the letter (Pez, B., *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus*, Graz and Augsburg, 1721-1729, Vol. I, Part 1, cols. 429-436; J. Wichner, "Zwei Bücherverzeichnisse des 14. Jahrhunderts in der Admonter Stiftsbibliothek," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft I (1889), pp. 508-511, is here printed: Ceterum rogo toto studio et affectu ut quia vobis ut dignum fuit plura communicavi de predictis meis opusculis quam aliis quibuscumque si quos adhuc de ipsis forsitan non habetis quos adhuc habere vobis placeat nobis continuo intimetis quos libenter vobis etiam transmittemus ita ut et aliis petiturus forsitan etiam ipsas communicationes, in quo non querimus iactantiam fame habere periculum eternalis (?) dampnationis de uno talento abscondito cuius etiam novissimum quadrantum exacta ratione reddere oportebit. In a different hand, fol. 141r, col. 2, continues: Explicunt tractatus de miraculis Christi, tractatus de fascinatione, et epistola Engelberti abbatis Admontensis ad magistrum Ulrichum scolasticum Wyennensem Scripta sub anno domini m^occc^olvii^o dominorum in monasterio omnium sanctorum in Maurbach. For the portion in a different hand see: *Xenia Bernardina*, Vienna, 1891, Teil II (Bd. I), p. 42.
- 15 *Johannes Victoriensis. Liber certarum historiarum (Anonymi Leobensis)*. Ed. by Fedor Schneider. 2 vols., Hanover, 1909-1910, p. 117 of Vol. II. (Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum): "vir acuti ingenii et magnae literaturae."
- 16 Fowler, G. B., *Intellectual Interests of Engelbert of Admont* (Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 530), New York, Columbia University Press, 1947, pp. 30-31, notes 48 and 51; Sarton, G. A., *An Introduction to the History of Science*, Baltimore, Vol. II, Part II (1931), p. 996; Thorndike, Lynn, *Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century*, New York, 1929, 147; and see the indices of Thorndike, L., *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York, 1934, Vols. III-IV. Was Leopold of Austria, the mysterious astrologer, a brother of Duke Frederick of Austria? Cf. *Annales Admontensis. Continuatio Zwettlensis III*. (Monumen-

- ta Germaniae historica: Scriptores, t. IX, p. 664, lines 37-38): . . . "Imperator Heinricus, intrans partem Lombardie, profecturus cum magno exercitu, habens secum dom. Leopoldum fratrem ducis Friderici Austrie in comitatu, . . .; also: F. Martin, ed., *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe und des Domkapitels von Salzburg (1247-1343)*, Salzburg, Vol. I (1926), No. 385, dated 24 July 1262, mentions a "Leopoldus, scholaris archiepiscopus," at Otting.
- 17 Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 29, n. 45.
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 - 29 Kaindl, *op. cit.*, 315-317.
 - 30 G. Leidinger, "Bernardus Noricus: Untersuchungen zu den Geschichtsquellen von Kremsmünster und Tegernsee," *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische-historische Abteilung*, München, Jahrgang 1917, 4. Abh., p. 35.
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CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA ON THE GENERATION OF THE LOGOS*

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At the time of Clement of Alexandria there existed two theories with regard to the generation of the Logos. They may be described as the twofold stage theory and the single stage theory. According to the twofold stage theory, which reflects a similar conception in Philo,¹ the Logos at first existed from eternity in God and then, prior to the creation of the world, it was generated from the essence of God as a distinct personal being. Representatives of this view are, among the Greek Fathers, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Hippolytus, and among the Latin Fathers, Tertullian, Novatian, Lactantius, and as late as the fourth century, Zeno of Verona. According to the single stage theory, the generation of the Logos from God was from eternity. The first to introduce this view were Irenaeus and Origen and it is this view which ultimately prevailed. Now with regard to Clement of Alexandria, who was a contemporary of both Irenaeus and Origen, it is the general opinion of students of the history of doctrine that he is to be included among those who introduced the single stage theory, though Zahn finds that Clement "always makes a sharp distinction between the only Unbegotten God the Father and the Son or Logos who was begotten or created before the rest of creation."² It is this general opinion which I wish to question in this paper.

This general opinion is based upon four considerations.

First, there are such statements as that God and the Logos "are one,"³ that "the Son is in Him, and the Father is in the Son."⁴ and that "at the same time that He is the Father He is the Father of the Son."⁵ These statements are generally taken to mean that from eternity God and the Logos were related to each other as Father and Son and hence the generation of the Logos from the Father is eternal. To quote two representative students of Clement: As to the personal Logos who is the Son, says Tixeront, Clement "affirms directly His eternal generation: this is the characteristic teaching of the Alexandrian

*This paper was delivered at the December meeting of the American Society of Church History, Boston, 1949. It touches briefly upon many problems which are dealt with more fully in the author's forthcoming work, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers*, which is to be a sequel to *Philo* (1947).

school in opposition to the Apologists. This generation not only preceded creation: it had no beginning, no starting-point (*anarchos*), for the Father is Father only on condition that He has a Son."⁶ According to Clement, says Patrick, "Fatherhood is an inalienable attribute of the Divine Being. The Son must therefore have been eternally begotten, for fatherhood and sonship are correlative conceptions."⁷

To our mind, however, the expressions used by Clement do not necessarily lead to such a conclusion, for Athenagoras, who, as we know, does believe in the twofold stage, similarly says that "The Son of God is the Logos of the Father . . . the Father and the Son being one . . . the Son being in the Father and the Father in the Son," for "God, who is the eternal mind, had the Logos in himself, being from eternity instinct with the Logos."⁸ Since Athenagoras, who definitely believes in the twofold stage theory, still found himself able to assert his belief in the eternal relationship of fatherhood and sonship between God and the Logos, it follows that a similar assertion by Clement of Alexandria does not necessarily imply a rejection of the twofold stage theory. What Athenagoras really means by his assertion of the eternal father-son relationship, and what Clement of Alexandria might also mean by such an assertion, is simply this, that even though in a strictly technical sense one might say that God is to be called Father only when the Logos was generated or when He became incarnate, still in view of the fact that these two events, the generation and the incarnation of the Logos, were to be anticipated, God is to be called, in an anticipatory sense, Father from eternity. This is good Patristic reasoning, and we shall quote here two illustrative examples. (a) There is Hippolytus, who argues that, even though before the incarnation the Logos was not yet "perfect Son," God still addresses Him as Son "because He was to be begotten in the future."⁹ (b) There is Novatian who argues that, even though the Logos was generated or proceeded from the Father only prior to the creation of the world, still, inasmuch as He had always been in the Father, God had always been Father.¹⁰

Second, Clement is reported to have said that the Son or the Logos "was generated without beginning (*anarchōs genomenos*)."¹¹ This would certainly imply that Clement believed in the eternal generation of the Logos. But when we examine the text upon which this alleged statement rests, we shall find that what it really says about the Logos is not that it "was generated without beginning," but rather that "it was impassable without beginning" (*apathoūs anarchōs genomenou*).¹² What this statement means is that in the Logos his impassibility or freedom from passion was without beginning in the sense that it was inherent in his nature and was not, as in the case of

men, the result of a struggle and process.¹³ The source of the misunderstanding of this passage seems to be due to the fact that in the Latin version of the *Stromata* it has been translated by "who is impassible and begotten without a beginning" (*qui impatibilis est et sine principio genitus*).¹⁴

Third, there is the statement in which the Son is described as "the oldest in generation, the timeless (*achronon*) and beginningless (*anarchon*), the first principle (*archēn*) and firstling (*aparchēn*) of existences."¹⁵ From the fact that the Son is described here as "timeless" and "beginningless" together with the fact that God is also described as "beginningless"¹⁶ it is inferred that the Logos has been eternally generated from God.¹⁷ But this is not conclusive. Even on the assumption of the twofold stage theory, the second stage of the existence of the Logos may be described as "timeless" and "beginningless" in the sense that its generation was not in time, on the commonly accepted principle that time did not exist before the creation of the world. Furthermore, the description here of the Son or the Logos as "the oldest (*presbytaton*) in generation" and "firstling of existences (*ontōn*)" reflects Philo's description of the Logos in its second stage of existence as "the oldest (*presbytaton*) of existences (*ontōn*)"¹⁸ or "the oldest and most generic of created things"¹⁹ or "older than all things which were the objects of creation."²⁰

Fourth, there is the expression "eternal Son" (*huios aidios*), which occurs in connection with the post-resurrection Christ, "who is driving now into heaven."²¹ The term "eternal" as a description of the Son here would seem to point to a single stage theory. But this, too, to our mind, is inconclusive. The term "eternal" in the expression "eternal Son" here, just as in the expression "eternal Logos" (*logos aidios*)²² in Philo, may mean only "unending," that is, eternal *a parte post*, or it may refer to the continuous existence of the Son throughout all the stages of His existence taken together.²³

Not only, as we have seen, is there no evidence to prove a belief in the single stage theory on the part of Clement, but there are also passages in his writings which, as we shall now try to show, point to a belief in the twofold stage theory.

One of the passages in which the twofold stage theory is suggested is in the *Stromata*. In that passage Clement starts out by identifying the Logos with Truth and Truth with what Plato calls idea and by defining idea as "a conception (*ennoēma*) of God." Then he proceeds to say: "Now the Logos coming forth (*proelthōn*) was the cause of creation; then also he generated himself, when the Logos had become flesh, that he might be seen."²⁴

In this passage, then, quite clearly the Logos is represented after

the manner of the twofold stage theory: first it was a conception in the mind of God and then it came forth from God's mind to become a distinct personal being, and it is in the latter stage of existence, it further states, that He acted as the instrument of creation and later became incarnate in Jesus.

Moreover, there is in this passage the additional evidence of the term "coming forth." This, in our opinion, is a technical term which has already been used by the Apologists as a description of the act of generation by which the Logos emerges from the first stage of its existence, during which it is only a thought of God, and enters upon its second stage, when it becomes a distinct personal being. Thus Tatian, after describing the generation of the Logos during the second stage of its existence by the term "springs forth" (*propēda*)²⁵ and "proceeding" (*chōrēsas*),²⁶ describes it also as "coming forth (*proelthōn*) from the Logos-power of the Father."²⁷ Similarly Athenagoras, after stating that at first the Logos was in God from eternity, describes Him then as "coming forth (*proelthōn*) to be the idea and energizing power of all material things which lay like a nature without qualities."²⁸ So also Justin Martyr, though he does not use the expression "coming forth from Him," describes the generation of the Logos in its second stage of existence by the expression "coming (*elthōn*) from Him."²⁹ Accordingly, when Clement says here that "the Logos coming forth was the cause of creation," he means thereby that the Logos, after having been in God from eternity, was generated as a distinct personal being to create the world. There is no justifiable ground for the statement that, according to Clement, "true, the Logos came forth (*proelthōn*) at the moment of creation and as its immediate author: but this fact does not imply two states in Him: He has not been subject to the *probolē*."³⁰ Justin Martyr and Tatian, and Athenagoras, too, do not believe in the Gnostic theory of "projection" (*probolē*), and still they believe that the "coming forth" of the Logos marks the beginning of a second stage in his existence. It is undoubtedly with reference to this "coming forth" of the Logos prior to the creation of the world that Clement speaks of the Logos as the "first-begotten" (*prōtogenos*)³¹ and of Wisdom, which he identifies with the Logos, as the "first-created" (*prōtoktistos*).³²

Another suggestion of the Philonic two stages in the preexistence of the Logos is also to be found in a passage in the *Protrepticus*. "For the image of God is His Logos, the genuine Son of Nous, the divine Logos, the archetypal light of light; and an image of the Logos is the true man, the nous which is in man, who is therefore said to have been made after the image and likeness of God."^{33 34}

In this passage we have two terms, Nous and Logos. The Logos

is described as the image of God and the Son of Nous, whence by implication we may infer that Nous is identical with God. In another place he says explicitly: "The Nous is the abode of ideas, and God is Nous."³⁵ Besides this Nous, which is identified with God, and the Logos, which is described as divine, there is also a nous which is in man and is described as an image of the Logos and is the true man.

Now Clement's description of the mind in man as "the true (*alēthinos*) man" and as "an image of the Logos" and his support of it by scriptural verse that man was made "after the image" of God reflects Philo's similar statements that the mind in each of us is "in the true sense (*pros alētheian*) man" and that, on the basis of the scriptural verse that man was made "after the image" of God, the mind of man is to be described as "the impression of that image" of God which is the Logos, or as the "copy" of the Logos.³⁶ Then also, his descriptions of the Logos as the "image of God" and as "the archetypal light of light" reflect similar descriptions of the Logos in Philo.³⁷ Similarly his description of the Logos as the Son of Nous, in view of his identification of Nous with God, is merely another way of reproducing the description of the Logos as the Son of God which is found in Philo directly³⁸ and in the New Testament indirectly.³⁹

But as for his identification of Nous with God, expressed by him in the statement quoted above, "the Nous is the abode (*chōra*) of ideas, and God is Nous," Clement himself attributes it to Plato. No such statement, however, is to be found in Plato. Plato only says that the ideas are in our souls (*en psychais*).⁴⁰ Nor is it directly based upon Aristotle's reference to this statement of Plato, for Aristotle's reference to it reads that "the soul (*psychē*) is a place (*topos*) of forms (*eidōn*)."⁴¹ It reflects certain passages in Philo. First, his statement that God is "the incorporeal abode (*chōra*) of incorporeal ideas."⁴² Second, his reproduction of the Stoic statement, though used by him in a different sense, that God is the mind of the world.⁴³ Third, his description of the Logos as the "Nous above us."⁴⁴ Fourth, his statement that the Logos is the place (*topos*) of the ideas.⁴⁵ The Nous in this passage of the *Protrepticus*, therefore, stands for the Logos in the first stage of its existence, when it was in God and identical with his essence.

In these two passages, then, Clement makes four statements about the Logos. First, in its first stage, the Logos from eternity existed as a conception in the mind of God. Second, prior to the creation of the world it was generated into its second stage of existence as a distinct personal being. Third, it is the Logos in its second stage of existence that became incarnate in Christ. Fourth, it is also the

Logos in its second stage of existence that becomes the source of mind in man.

These four statements about the Logos occur also in a passage quoted by Photius from Clement's lost *Hypotyposes*, and hence this passage is further evidence of Clement's belief in the twofold stage theory. The passage reads as follows: "The Son is called the Logos, being of the same name with the Paternal Logos, but it is not this latter that became incarnate. Nor, indeed, is it the Paternal Logos, but a certain power of God, an emanation, as it were, of His Logos, that has become nous, and pervaded the hearts of men."⁴⁶ This passage has been variously interpreted.⁴⁷ But in the light of the four statements which we have found to be contained in the preceding two passages, it can be shown that this new passage contains the same four statements. The "Paternal Logos" in this passage refers to the first stage in the Logos, corresponding to what in the preceding two passages is called "a conception of God" or "Nous." The Son-Logos in this passage refers to the second stage in the Logos, corresponding to what in the preceding two passages is described as "coming forth" or the "image of God" or the "Son of Nous." The statement in this passage that it is not the Paternal Logos that became incarnate corresponds to the statement in the first of the preceding two passages that it is the Logos in the second stage of existence that generated itself to become flesh. Finally, the statement in this passage that it is not the Paternal Logos but rather a certain power of God, an emanation, as it were, of His Logos, that has become nous, and pervaded the hearts of men corresponds to the statement in the second of the preceding two passages that the nous which is in man is an image of the Logos in its second stage of existence.

Still another suggestion of the twofold stage theory is to be found in a passage of the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*. It reads as follows: "'And the Logos became flesh,' not only by becoming man at his advent (on earth), but also 'in the beginning' the Logos in his constant identity became (*genomenos*) a son by circumscription and not in essence."⁴⁸ In this passage, Clement quite evidently takes the term "was" (*ēn*) in the verse "In the beginning was the Logos" not in the sense of "being" but rather in the sense of "becoming" or "being born," so that, according to him, the verse means that the Logos was generated "in the beginning." Now, with regard to the phrase "in the beginning" in this verse, there are two interpretations among the Fathers, which we shall illustrate by quotations from two of its most representative exponents. Irenaeus, who held the single stage theory, took it in the sense of "in eternity." Thus drawing upon the verse in the Gospel according to St. John 1:1, "in the beginning was the Logos" and the

verse in the First Epistle of John 1:1, "That which was from the beginning," he describes the Logos as "eternally co-existing with the Father, from of old, yea, from the beginning."⁴⁹ Tertullian, on the other hand, who held to the twofold stage theory, took the phrase "in the beginning" in John 1:1 to refer to the "beginning," in which, according to Genesis 1:1, God created the heaven and the earth. Thus, commenting upon the verse, "In the beginning was the Logos," he says: "that is, the same beginning, of course, in which God made the heaven and the earth."⁵⁰ In view of these two interpretations of the phrase "in the beginning" in John 1:1, we may ask ourselves in what sense Clement takes that phrase. An answer to this question may be found in a passage in the *Protrepticus*. In that passage, commenting upon the verse, "Sing unto the Lord a new song,"⁵¹ he says: "This is the new song, the manifestation, just now shined forth among us, of the Logos that was in the beginning and before the beginning . . . There appeared the Logos, by whom all things have been created, and He, who in the beginning as Creator bestowed upon us life, when He formed us, taught us to live well when He appeared as our Teacher."⁵² From a combination of the passage quoted before from the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* and this passage from the *Protrepticus* we may gather that Clement takes the phrase "in the beginning" in John 1:1 to refer to that beginning in which God created the heaven and the earth, that is to say, the Logos came into existence as Son and as the instrument of creation when God was about to create the world. Hence it may be inferred that he believed in a twofold stage theory.

But, like all those who believe in the twofold stage theory, Clement tries to show that the Logos in its second stage of existence, that which created the world and became incarnate and is the source of mind in man, is not something different from the Logos in its first stage of existence; it is a continuation of the same Logos, only under a different form of existence. Thus in one place he tries to show that, though it is the Logos in its second stage of existence that is the instrument of creation and its first principle, still "God, who is without beginning, is the perfect first principle (*archē*) of the universe, and the producer of the first principle (*archēs*)."⁵³ Thus also in other places he tries to show that, though it is the Son-Logos and not the Paternal Logos that became incarnate, still ultimately it is the Paternal Logos who became incarnate and hence can be described in terms which primarily apply to the incarnate Logos, such as "the benign light, the Lord that bringeth light, faith to all and salvation."⁵⁴ or as "the only Paeonian physician of human infirmities and the holy charmer of the sick soul"⁵⁵ or as "the all-holy Shepherd and Instructor"⁵⁶ or as "the one who has received the holy administration 'by reason of Him who sub-

jected it."⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ Thus finally, in a third place, he tries to show that, though it is the Son-Logos and not the Paternal Logos that is the source of mind in man, still ultimately the source of mind in man is the Paternal Logos and hence Clement says of Him: "And He who communicated to us also reason, wishing us to live rationally and rightly, for the Logos of the Father of the Universe is not the uttered word, but the wisdom and most manifest kindness of God, and His power too, which is almighty and truly divine . . . the almighty will."⁵⁹ And in general he tries to show that the Logos in its second stage of existence, though a distinct personal being, is not something separate from God the Father. Thus the verse in John 1:1, "And the Logos was with (*pros*) God" is paraphrased by him to read "and the Logos was in (*en*) God,"⁶⁰ just as the statement concerning the post-resurrection Jesus, "who is even at the right hand of God"⁶¹ is also taken by him to mean, "who is in the Father."⁶²

As against these passages from Clement's extant writings which would seem to point to a belief in the twofold stage theory, there is a passage in a Latin translation from a lost Greek commentary on the First and Second Epistle of John, generally attributed to Clement of Alexandria, which definitely assumes a single stage theory.

In that commentary he deals with the first verse, "That which was from the beginning was the Logos," in the Gospel according to St. John. Instead of taking the term "beginning" in both these verses to refer to the beginning of the creation of the world, as he does in the passage quoted above from the *Protrepticus*,⁶³ he takes it here to mean from eternity. Thus in his comment on the verse, "That which was from the beginning," he says that it "refers to the generation, without beginning, of the Son who co-existed with the Father" and that "'was' is a word indicative of the eternity which has no beginning."⁶⁴ Similarly, drawing upon the verse, "In the beginning was the Logos," he says it means that "the Logos was always" and, in explanation of this interpretation he says that "The Logos, that is, the Son, who according to the equality of substance, subsists as one with the Father, is sempiternal and uncreated."⁶⁵ In these quotations, then, the expression "the generation, without beginning, of the Son," taken together with the statements that "'was' is a word indicative of the eternity which has no beginning" and "the Logos . . . is sempiternal," surely indicates a single stage theory.

Usually, in the case of an apparent contradiction of this kind in the works of an author, one would be tempted to find a way of harmonizing the apparently contradictory statements, and in this particular case the harmonization would have to be at the expense of the passages quoted from Clement's extant writings, which are not as

explicit as the passage in this Commentary on the First Epistle of John. But there are certain circumstances in connection with this Commentary which cause one to hesitate about taking it as decisive in determining the genuine view of Clement in his extant writings. To begin with, the ascription of this work to Clement may be doubted.⁶⁶ Then, its Latin translator, Cassiodorus, by his own testimony, has allowed himself to change the original text with a view to purging it of offending matters.⁶⁷ Perhaps an original statement of a twofold stage theory was considered by him an offending matter and he substituted for it a single stage theory. In fact later in the same Commentary the Son and the Holy Spirit are described as "primitive and first-created powers" (*primitivae virtutes ac primo creatae*)⁶⁸—which may be an unpurged survival of an original twofold stage theory.⁶⁹ Finally, it is not impossible that this Commentary, which formed a part of his *Hypotyposes*, represents a later development in the view of Clement, for the *Hypotyposes* is generally assumed to have been written after his extant works were completed at about 208/211. Perhaps Clement came to change his view from a twofold stage theory to a single stage theory under the influence of his former pupil, Origen. Though Clement had left Alexandria at about 202, it is possible that he had kept up his contact with Origen and the Alexandrian School and thus came under the influence of the new views which arose there after his departure.

1 For Philo's twofold stage theory of the Logos see my *Philo*, I, 229-236; 239-240; 374-375. Cf. Jean Daniélou, S. J., in his review of *Philo* in *Theological Studies*, IX (1948), p. 586.

2 Cf. Th. Zahn, "Supplementum Clementinum," in his *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Literatur*, III (1884), 144.

Zahn refers to "Str. VI, 16; VII, 58" of Dindorf's edition. The first reference is probably a misprint for V, 16 and it is the passage in *Strom.* V, 31⁶ (PG 9, 33 A) discussed below at nn. 24-30. The second reference is to the passage in *Strom.* VII, 10⁵⁸ (PG 9, 481 B-484 A) in which the "Almighty" is described as "the one and only God the Father" and the Son is described in scriptural language as "the face of the God of Jacob" (Ps. 24:6, LXX) and as "the express image" of the glory of the Father (Heb. 1:3).

3 *Paedag.* I, 8⁶² (PG 8, 325 B).

4 *Ibid.* I, 7⁵³ (8, 312 D).

5 *Strom.* V, 1¹ (9, 9 A).

6 Tixeront, *Histoire des Dogmes*, I^o (1924), 286 (Eng. I, 248).

7 J. Patrick, *Clement of Alexandria* (1914), p. 99.

8 *Supplicatio pro Christianis* 10.

9 *Contra haeresim Noeti* 15 (PG 10, 824 B).

10 Novatian, *De Trinitate* 31.

11 A. de la Barre, "Clément d'Alexandrie" *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, I, 159.

12 *Strom.* VII, 2⁷ (9, 409 C).

13 Cf. note ad. loc. in Hort-Mayor's *Clement of Alexandria: Miscellanies Book VII*, p. 208.

14 Cf. PG 9, 409 C.

15 *Strom.* VII, 1² (9, 404 C).

16 *Ibid.* IV, 25¹⁶² (8, 1372 B); V, 14¹⁴¹ (9, 205 B).

17 Loofs, *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte* (1906), 169.

18 *Deter.* 31, 118.

19 *Leg. All.* III, 61, 175.

20 *Migr.* I, 6; cf. *Philo*, I, 234, 251.

21 *Protrep.* 12¹²¹ (8, 244 A).

22 *Plant.* 5, 18.

23 Cf. *Philo*, I, 234-235.

24 *Strom.* V, 31⁶ (9, 33 A).

25 *Oratio ad Graecos* 5, (PG 6, 813 C).

26 *Ibid.* (816 A).

27 *Ibid.* (817 A).

28 *Supplic.* 10 (PG 6, 909 A).

29 *Apologia* I, 6 (PG 6, 336 C).

30 Tixeront, loc. cit.

31 *Strom.* VI, 7⁵⁸ (9, 280 B).

32 *Ibid.* V, 14⁸⁹ (9, 132 A).

- 33 Gen. I:26.
 34 *Protrept.* 10⁹⁸ (8, 212 C-213 A).
 35 *Strom.* IV, 25¹⁵⁵ (8, 1364 C); Cf. Patrick, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
 36 *Heres* 48, 230-231; Cf. *Philo*, I, 393, 395.
 37 For "image of God," see *Heres* 48, 230-231, *et al.* Cf. 2 Cor. 4:4, *et al.* For "archetypal light of light," see *Somn.* I, 13, 75, though in Philo the Logos is the archetypal light of light in a sense secondary to that of God.
 38 *Agr.* 12, 51, *et al.*
 39 I John 5:7 cf. Hippolytus, *Contra haeresim Noeti* 15
 40 *Parmenides* 132 B.
 41 *De Anima* III, 4, 429a, 27-28. Cf. Stählin's note on *Strom.* IV, 25¹⁵⁵ in his edition, II, p. 317, l. 11.
 42 *Cher.* 14, 49; Cf. *Philo*, I, 251.
 43 *Leg. All.* III, 9, 29; *Philo*, I, 345 f.
 44 *Heres* 48, 236; Cf. *Philo*, I, 393.
 45 *Opif.* 5, 20; Cf. *Philo*, I, 245.
 46 Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Col. 109; *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ed. O. Stählin, III, p. 202, 11. 18-22.
 47 See Zahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-147; Tixeront, *op. cit.* I^o 286 (Eng. I, 247); Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte* I⁴ (1909), p. 369, n.2 (Eng. II, 352, n. 2); P. Ziegert, *Zwei Abhandlungen über I. Flavius Clemens Alexandrinus: Psychologie und Logos-christologie* (1884), pp. 87-90; J. F. Bethune-Baker, *An Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrines* (1942), p. 134-135; Patrick, *op. cit.* pp. 102-106.
 48 *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 19. Cf. editions of R. Casey (1934) and F. M. M. Sagnard (1948).
 49 *Adversus haereses* II, 30, 9.
 50 *Adversus Hermogenem* 20.
 51 *Isa.* 42:10
 52 *Protrept.* I^r (8, 61 C).
 53 *Strom.* IV, 25¹⁶² (8, 1372 B).
 54 *Protrept.* 3⁸⁰ (8, 192 A).
 55 *Paedag.* I, 2⁶ (8, 256 A).
 56 *Ibid.* I, 9⁸⁴ (8, 349 C).
 57 *Rom.* 8: 20.
 58 *Strom.* VII, 2⁵ (9, 409 A).
 59 *Ibid.* V⁶, I (9, 16 B).
 60 *Protrept.* 10¹¹⁰ (8, 228 A).
 61. *Rom.* 8:34; cf. *Col.* 3:1; *Mark* 16:19; *Acts* 7:55.
 62 *Paedag.* I, 2⁴ (8, 252 C).
 63 Cf. above at n. 52
 64 *Adumbrationes in Epistolam I Joannis* 1:1 (9, 734 D); ed. Stählin, III, p. 210, 11. 2-4.
 65 *Ibid.* (9, 755 A); ed. Stählin, III, p. 210, 11. 5-7. Cf. Patrick, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
 66 *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, I, 564; Zahn, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
 67 Cf. Zahn, *op. cit.*, p. 134; Patrick, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
 68 *On* 2:1 (9, 755 D); ed. Stählin, III, p. 211, 1. 15.
 69 See attempt to harmonize his expression with the single stage theory in Loofs, *op. cit.*, 169.

BOOK REVIEWS

Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift. Edited by Gunnar Westin. Uppsala and Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1949. 316 pages. 11kr.

This is the forty-ninth annual report of the Church History Society of Sweden. It has special significance, therefore, as a report of fifty years of activity by that organization. The Society was organized in 1899 and held its first meeting in 1900. The editor, Dr. Westin, gives a comprehensive and rather intimate account of the persons and products associated with the Society during this half century. Few countries have been as amply provided with competent church historians as has Sweden. Such names as Herman Lundström, Harald Hjärne, Henrik Schuck, Edvard Rodhe, Hjalmar Holmquist, Gunnar Westin, and Emanuel Linderholm are only a few of many names familiar to any student of the Swedish Church. It appears evident the Swedish Church History Society has enlisted the support of the very best church historians available. Perhaps other similar societies will be interested to know that even with such competent personnel, it has had great difficulty maintaining its membership, actually having fewer members now than fifty years ago. The Yearbook, which has come out each year with few exceptions, gives evidence of the high caliber of work carried on by its members.

Among the studies contained in this issue, in addition to the historical review of the Society, are: "Concerning Canon Law and its Study," by Ivar Nylander; "A Catalogue of Holy Days from 1540," by Åke Andrén, "The Clergy in Conflict against Queen Christina's Naturalistic View of Religious Freedom," by Sven Göransson; "Mer-

cantilism and Church Strategy (kyrkopolitik)," by Erik Sandberg; "The Editorial Problem in the *Swedish Church Paper*," by Sverker Ölander. This reviewer found particular interest in the Göransson study dealing with the reaction of the Swedish Church in the period of Orthodoxy to the Romanist and Enlightenment tendencies in the royal house. The forfeiture of royal prerogatives in Sweden as a result of embracing the Roman faith was a definite rejection of any naturalistic basis for royal authority and a further evidence of the essentially democratic influence of the Swedish Church upon the Swedish nation.

The publication of a series of unpublished letters written by John Drury of England during 1636-38 from Sweden may have special interest to students of European history in the first half of the seventeenth century.

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Authority in the Apostolic Age.

By R. R. WILLIAMS. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1950. 144 pages. \$1.75.

These lectures by the Principal of St. John's College, Durham, survey the varied facets of the problem of authority in the period covered by the writings of the New Testament, i.e. to about 120 A.D. The author is a liberal Anglican, not uncritical of his liberalism. The theological thinking of P. T. Forsyth has obviously made its mark upon his own point of view. He cannot give a precise answer to the question how the authority of Christ and his Gospel is mediated to us, for he rejects all absolute or legalistic formulations of it. But it does come to us in some sense in Scripture, Church,

Ministry, Sacrament, reason and conscience.

Such an approach to the varieties of authority affords an outline for the treatment of his theme. The first chapter surveys "Apostolic Authority in Action," namely, St. Paul and his dealings with the Corinthian Church. Here the grounds of appeal may be the experience of the Corinthians themselves, or a general stock of knowledge and accepted practice, the Old Testament, Paul's own status, or the moral welfare of the Church. A second chapter discusses the authority of history, i.e., the gospel facts, first as *kerugma*, then as crystallized in a "new" Testament. The author might well have given some attention at this point to the development of creeds, since the earliest forms of them were not merely based on Scripture, but were contemporaneous in their development with the New Testament itself.

Two chapters concern the early ministry, and show our author in the tradition of Lightfoot and Streeter. The episcopate and presbyterate were originally identical. Amidst all the varieties of local ministries he is willing to concede to the pastoral ministry "the authority of the apostles behind it." And "the evidence of the New Testament lends some support to the idea of a historical succession of ministers in the Church"; but, like the New Testament itself, it is a link with the historic Incarnation "not so much by being charged with legal authority as by actually conveying and preserving the message which Christ gave." Applied to the modern situation this thesis is turned against all exclusive claims of Catholic apologists. Existing ministries are to be judged by their fruits. But the author believes that episcopacy will commend itself to "the coming great Church," as it has to the Church of South India, by reason of its antiquity and its pragmatic values.

The finest chapter in the book is the one on "The Authority of Dynamic Happenings," those signs of God's power at work in the preaching and ministry of Christ and the early Church. He notes a "slight slackening of the miraculous element" even in the later

phases of the New Testament period, and points at the end to a problem as to how the authority of Christ within the Church can be made effectively real "without some modern equivalent to *dunamis*." On the other hand the succeeding chapter on the authority of "Common Practice" is disappointing and evasive. The sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist are discussed, and also the ethical tradition. The whole problem of the authority of the sacraments as deriving from a specific institution of Christ is ignored. They are treated as practices known in the Church from the beginning. No discussion is offered as to the persons authorized to administer them, or with respect to their normative place in the corporate life of the Church. Concluding chapters summarize the authority of Christ, survey some modern literature on the problem of authority, and set forth the author's own suggestions for the contemporary scene.

The book is a commendable contribution to a most difficult subject. The scholarship is unquestioned. But the theological interpretations will not meet with universal approval, either on the conservative or on the liberal side.

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Plotinus' Search for the Good.

By JOSEPH KATZ. New York: King's Crown Press. 1950. ix; 106 pages. \$2.50.

This monograph, which is really an essay in size and scope, was written largely under the direction of Paul Kristeller, a very competent student of Neo-Platonism and himself the author of a work on Plotinus' theory of the soul. The five chapters are entitled: (I) The Preparations for Plotinus in Greek Philosophy; (II) The Nature of Plotinus' "Mysticism"; (III) Levels of Reality; (IV) The Flight to the Alone; (V) Science, Magic and Politics. These chapters are followed by about thirty pages of notes and a brief index.

Dr. Katz' purpose "is to penetrate behind Plotinus' statements to the problems that faced his philosophy." He therefore treats Plotinus' dialectic

"less for its own sake than to show its function in bridging the inevitable inconsistencies that arise when valuational and existential considerations are not clearly distinguished."

A critique of the kind proposed by the author requires considerable sophistication as well as learning, insight and originality. These qualities the author fortunately possesses, as a few passages may serve to show.

In tracing the Hellenistic ideas of levels of reality Dr. Katz remarks (pp. 6-7) that "it did not seem paradoxical to pile an intelligible *universe* on the sensible *universe*, to have, as in Plotinus, several levels of existence of which each is said to be *all* things . . . Nevertheless, the amount of violence, strife and evil in the world allegedly ordered by transcendent agency seemed to suggest a relative impotence in the transcendent orderer—a difficulty familiar to us from the theodicies. Plotinus was to solve the problem for himself by arguing that each level was as good as it could be if one did not seek for the perfection of the producer in the product." Following up this analysis Dr. Katz perceptively discovers that "the logically general became the ontologically superior, a process by which the general was itself individualized. The assignment of its own level of existence to the general marks this particularization."

Plotinus' contribution to the metaphysics of the One is rather neatly formulated in the statement (p. 12) that "the tension between the immanentist tendency initiated by Heraclitus' One and the transcendental tendency initiated by Parmenides' One Plotinus tries to remove by a favorite device, according to which the One is both everywhere (*pantachou*) and nowhere (*oudamou*)."

The chapter on Plotinus' "mysticism" (the word is put within quotation marks by the author) is too brief to explore more than a few aspects of Plotinus' relation to other Hellenistic mystical philosophers but it does contain several original and enlightening observations. One is (p. 25) that "rationalism ends by denying human reason in favor of some superhuman

reason (*nous*). Rationalism thus becomes superrationalism, which is in fact the partial abdication of reason. In spite of its avowed hostility to myth, it permits myth to re-enter with a vengeance; for myth disguised as reason will now interfere with what is properly the sphere of reason."

It may come as a surprise to some students of existentialism, now a favorite subject of historians of thought, to learn from Dr. Katz' monograph (p. 34) that "according to Plotinus existence is prior to thought, and the order which is to be discerned by thought in existence is not a product of thought."

There is little doubt in the reviewer's mind that the author has on the whole been successful in penetrating to the problems behind Plotinus' statements. Nevertheless, there are a few points in which he ventures to dissent, at least in part, from the author's views.

For example, Dr. Katz is perhaps too positive in stating (p. 10) that "it is to miss the peculiar character of Plotinus' philosophy to read it in terms of later theologies and Oriental speculation." The claim that Plotinus was influenced by Oriental speculation may of course be pushed too far. But even such a cautious student of Hellenistic religious philosophy as Puech grants the existence of Oriental influence on a philosopher in many ways close to Plotinus and perhaps one of his sources, namely Numenius. (See Puech's essay, "Numenius d'Apamée et les théologies orientales au second siècle, *Mélanges Bidez* ii, 743-778).

The reviewer would also question Dr. Katz' statement (p. 26) that "the One or the Good of Plotinus must not be called God, as Arnou, for instance, has done." Since the author himself later (p. 56) admits that Plotinus' Good has psychic traits and acts providentially (in spite of Plotinus' formal denial that there is a Providence in, say, the Stoic sense), there seems to be no great harm in calling this Good "God." At any rate Plotinus' Good bears a close resemblance to the God of Philo.

Two bibliographical references might be added: on the metaphor of light

(p. 38) the author might have mentioned Wetter's *Phos* or Dolger's *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit*; on mystical intoxication (n.16 on p. 83) he might have referred to Hans Lewy's *Sobria Ebrietas*.

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Saint Augustine and the Donatist Controversy. By GEOFFREY GRIMSHAW WILLIS, London: S.P.C.K., (Macmillan), 1950. xv; 199 pages. \$2.75.

Perhaps no other conflict served to develop the more practical aspects of Augustine's concepts of the Church than did Donatism. By the time the great theologian had come to the full expression of his thought, Manicheism (against which he also wrote) was no longer a temptation to him and was shortly to be on its way out; and Pelagianism while sharply critical of man's reputed incapability, actually posed no new problem. Donatism, on the other hand, worked from within. The Donatists were the purists,—their church only was genuine and apostolic, their baptism alone valid. Furthermore, they possessed a national, patriotic appeal, distinctly North African in contrast to an imperial Roman Church. They took Cyprian as their patron saint and quoted his writings to substantiate their claims. All of this forced Augustine to express his views on the church, baptism and the other sacraments, the relation of church and state, and Cyprian.

The Donatists manoeuvred shrewdly in the century preceding Augustine. Although condemned by councils and intermittently persecuted by emperors they held their ground, maintaining their claim that only through a spotless Christian community could the Holy Spirit be transmitted and the sacraments effective. Often they took the law into their own hands, for the Circumcellions terrorized various communities in North Africa, and especially wrought their vengeance upon any of their own who entered the Catholic Church.

To get at this internecine schism required all of the ingenuity and, I

think, courage of which Augustine was capable. In his treatises against the Donatists, and in his letters and sermons the great bishop claims that the membership of the church is comparable to the wheat and tares growing together in the field which will only be separated at the harvest. Besides, the Catholic Church is characterized by its unity (not only of organization, but also of charity), its sanctity (it is a *congregatio sanctorum admixta*, but it does maintain discipline), its catholicity (the Catholic Church is everywhere, the Donatists are limited to North Africa), its apostolicity (the Donatists are not descended from the apostles).

In connection with the sacraments and especially baptism, Augustine undercuts the Donatist position by emphasizing Cyprian's incessant magnification of the unity within the church. Furthermore, there is a validity even to sacraments irregularly administered. The sacrament is important not the administrant.

Augustine's thought of the relationship between church and state also changed,—though not for the better. At first he favored a policy of tolerance of the state toward schismatics, but without a doubt, the activities of the Circumcellions and the peculiar, nationalist color of Donatism led the Bishop of Hippo to urge the blotting out of the schismatics and the enforcing of the scripture ("Compel them to come in.")

Mr. Willis has carefully inspected the sources which inform us of the Donatist controversy. His study properly begins with the origin of the schism but the greater part of the book delineates Augustine's conflict with the Donatists. The author bases his judgments on a thorough study of Augustine's writings, and he excellently summarizes the theologian's position in the three important areas of church, sacraments, and state. A helpful, though by no means complete bibliography is appended. Altogether this is an admirable treatise of one of Augustine's major concerns.

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The Pastoral Care of Souls in Southeast France During the Sixth Century. By HENRY G. J. BECK. Vol. LI of *Analecta Gregoriana*. Rome, 1950. LXXII; 414 pages.

This study is a model of clarity because it sticks to its subject in orderly fashion. Definition of the subject is made inductively (p. XIV). The geographical area covered roughly describes a right triangle whose angles are Arles, Lyons, and Nice. The thirty dioceses in this region are marked on a clearly-drawn map (p. XII). Had the author intended to play up to reader interest he could hardly have done better than select A. D. 500-600, a century of "greats" and (in Duckett's phrase) the gateway to the Middle Ages.

Pp. XXIII-XLVIII contain a list of "sources" and "Vitae Sanctorum", whose value is much enhanced by annotations. Pp. XLIX-LXXII list a bibliography of secondary works whose value would have been enhanced by annotations.

Part I treats of the hierarchy and the clergy (pp. 3-91). Of general interest are such chapters on the bishops as pertain to the social classes from which they hail, their relation to the kings, the married and the celibate ones, their moral behavior. As to the clergy there is information on ranks and kinds, on child-clergy, social origins, conduct, marriage and celibacy, relations to bishops.

Part II has to do with the divine office, the Mass, Christian initiation (baptism), penitential discipline, the other sacraments (marriage, unction), preaching, the cult of saints, and pastoral beneficence (pp. 92-344). Sampling here and there one has the sense of reading an encyclopedia of sixth century usages in the exercise of pastoral care. The chapter on preaching illustrates this. It appears that some accepted histories of preaching (Broadus, Pattison) have erroneously called sixth-century interest in preaching sterile. Popular preachers were not wanting. Sermons lasted from twenty minutes to four hours. Loud applause sometimes resounded through the church. Sometimes there was grumbling, as when sins were too

strongly condemned, or even when a preacher accented the middle syllable of "potitur." Caesarius, Bishop of Arles, stands out as a preacher. He collected sermons of his own for use by priests and deacons in their parishes. In his time only bishops preached, so that Caesarius's action was something of a revolutionary experiment. Philologists can find in sixth century sermons of south-east Gaul materials for the development of Latin into early forms of a romance language. They are also a source for *Sittengeschichte*, such as, drinking customs at banquets and at the time of pressing out the wine, or popular superstitions with respect to sacred trees.

An Epilogue (pp. 345-361) gives a convenient summary of the entire book. An Appendix (pp. 363-401) attempts to bring us up-to-date on the Christian archeology of sixth-century basilicae and monasteries of Arles, Marseilles, Vienne, and Lyons.

The typographers of the Gregorian University did not operate in the best Italian tradition. The type is often far from sharp, and the author alone caught some sixty misprints. On p. 361 "pays" is corrected to "pay", but in the same line and in the line preceding the author perpetrates double negatives. Such are the only kind of flaws to carp at, for which the author should feel complimented. The style is simple, in the manner of *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Documentation in footnotes shows the author's care to substantiate every statement of fact. The Index of Names and the General Index are adequate.

This volume should prove of much use to the general historian as well as to the church historian. We look forward to Professor Beck's promised work on the monasteries of sixth-century South-eastern Gaul.

QUIRINUS BRENN

University of Oregon

Preaching in the Great Tradition, By RAY C. PETRY. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1950, 122 pages. \$2.00.

This book is a companion volume to *No Uncertain Sound* (1948), Dr. Pe-

try's excellent anthology of patristic and medieval sermons. Its content, consisting largely of conclusions based on the texts and critical apparatus of the earlier work, is treated in four chapters: The Christian Heritage and Ministerial Responsibilities; Preaching and Teaching in the Christian Ministry; Preaching and the Ministry to the Common Life; Preaching the Word and the Ministry of Worship.

The announced purpose is to provide a long neglected "means of appropriating anew, in our own age, the continuing tradition of gospel proclamation."

In each area there is a swift survey of relevant sources, sometimes several such panoramic views, intended to document and support for the student of preaching, with citation and often with direct quotation, such subordinate considerations as "Obstacles to True Preaching," "The Historical Alliance of Teaching and Preaching," "Manuals on Preaching" (with a summary of Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*), "Preaching the Human Condition," "Popular Preaching" (the use of illustration), "Preaching in Relation to Worship," "Bible Preaching" (particularly Wyclif); and so on. The rapid reviews made necessary by the method may seem somewhat patternized and episodic; but of the value and suggestiveness of the study, there can be no manner of doubt. The subject is, of course, far too vast for the space allotted it. What Dr. Petry has done for it, however, within the limitations imposed, is to make it come alive with personalities and the authentic sound of the Word. As a general introduction to the history of preaching, when used to interpret the wealth of sermonic material with which he has already provided us, it is at present without any rival at all in the field and is not likely in any foreseeable future to be surpassed.

PAUL SCHERER

Union Theological Seminary

The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond Concerning the Acts of Samson, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Edmund. Translated from the Latin with Introduction, Notes

and Appendices, by H. E. BUTLER. New York: Oxford University Press, 1949. XXVIII; 167 pages. \$5.00.

This is a new translation of Jocelin's celebrated chronicle of the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds. It covers the closing years of Abbot Hugh (1173-80) and twenty years of rule under Abbot Samson (1182-1202). Three English kings come into the story: Henry II, Richard I, and John. The center of interest is always Abbot Samson who is every inch a ruler. Throughout he keeps his character of monk who now and then reveals to his Chaplain Jocelin facets of mind which make him credible as well as admirable. Samson who wore a hair shirt and hair drawers was to the world's eye a stout and successful defender of the abbey's rights and privileges against bishops and kings alike, a business manager who cleared his abbey from mountain-like debts left by his predecessor.

Much space is given to domestic politics. Proceedings leading to the election of Samson give Jocelin occasion for revealing the mind of the monks on what kind of a man an abbot ought and ought not to be. Still more space is given to domestic economy, with inventories of knights and fiefs, problems of entertaining guests, accounts of good and bad cellarers and pittanceers. Yet throughout there is no interruption in the observance of the Rule of Benedict; it is never given headlines, however, but is rather assumed to be that which gives wholeness and meaning to life.

The translator comments that three or four translations had already been made of the *Cronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*. Why then a fourth or fifth? When one compares Professor Butler's version with that of L. C. Jane in the *King's Classics*, it is apparent that Butler's is more faithful to the simple idiom of Jocelin. This is worth something, for in Jocelin's case the style is the man. This edition also has the Latin text opposite the translation, which is gratifying. The critical apparatus and glossary are put in footnotes and not in the back. This adds

so much to the usefulness of the book that the reader should not be unhappy to pay a bit more to cover the added expense. The pagination of Latin text pages and translation pages is the same so that reference is simplified; and incidentally this makes a volume of over 300 pages instead of 167.

The editor's Introduction has first a section on the manuscripts, which is signed by R. A. B. Mynors. Then follow sections on Jocelin, on the Saint (Edmund) and his Abbey, The Monastery and its Abbots, The Abbey Church, The Liberty of St. Edmund, and on the Internal Organization of the Abbey. On pp. VIII and IX is spread a map of the Liberty of St. Edmund, done in clear lines and with every place-name easily legible. The Introduction is a crisp, succinct piece of writing. Withal in the section on Jocelin the editor manifests how strongly the chronicler pulls at the heart-strings of a scholar who tries to be economical of words even to the point of being business-like.

Butler's appraisal of Jocelin suggests comparison with that of Thomas Carlyle who gives all of Book II of *Past and Present* to the *Chronicle*. Gasquet's Introduction to Jane's version attributes to Carlyle much of the remarkable fame of Jocelin, and into his paragraphs weaves many of Carlyle's most eloquent sentences. Should the question arise—and it does—what profit a twentieth-century man can derive from Jocelin one might well find suggestive answers in Carlyle's account. What he means by the "past" (in *Past and Present*) Carlyle illustrates in a sense from our monk's chronicle. He uses it largely to throw odious light upon the "present." But allowing for Carlyle's extravagance of expression, he has presented Jocelin's book as a human document which in its kind touches greatness—through which shines a doctrine of man and society which it may profit a modern to contemplate. I dare say that Editor Butler's waste-basket held more than one draft Introduction in which a few paragraphs bore passages from Carlyle. It seems he might have kept at least one.

The merits of this version are considerably obscured because the reader has to go through it without benefit of section headings. There are of course none in the original text. But this ought not to deter an editor (or commentator) from supplying them for the reader's convenience. Jane's translation has over eighty, which is a bit extreme. Carlyle's commentary has seventeen. This reviewer made twenty. The *Chronicle* is episodic, so that no violence is done to the sense by a few headings.

There is a very satisfactory cross index. Format and printing are worthy of the subject. Students and scholars should welcome this book. A cheaper edition without Latin text, but with an Introduction wearing a few feathers from Carlyle, and with section headings, should do well on the general market.

QUIRINUS BREEN

University of Oregon

Zwingli and Cranmer on the Eucharist (Cranmer Dixit et Contradixit), M. Dwight Johnson Memorial Lectureship in Church History. By CYRIL C. RICHARDSON. Evanston: Seabury-Western Theological Seminary. 1949. 57 pages. \$.25.

The discussion to which Richardson's unpretentious but solid lecture makes a significant contribution is often carried on with more vigor than wisdom, since many of us enjoy arguing about the doctrines of Zwingli and Cranmer without firsthand knowledge of the writings of either. As his subtitle indicates, Richardson continues (and has for the moment at least concluded) a controversy which began with Chapter XVI of Dom Gregory Dix's *Shape of the Liturgy*. Dix maintained that Cranmer's eucharistic doctrine after he abandoned belief in transubstantiation, about 1546, was simple Zwinglianism; the bread and wine taken in memory of Christ have no essential connection with the eating and drinking of his Body and Blood, which means devoutly contemplating the benefits of his Passion. Somewhat disguised in 1549, this doc-

trine appears clearly in the Prayer Book of 1552. In *Dixit Cranmer, A Reply to Dom Gregory*, G. B. Timms endeavored to make the Archbishop a "dynamic receptionist" on the lines of Bucer and Calvin. Dix clarified his position in a smashing rejoinder, *Dixit Cranmer et Non Timuit*. Richardson intervenes with a fresh inquiry into what these writers actually said, and a consideration of their presuppositions. These are primarily nominalist; reality is individual, and hence material gifts cannot share in a spiritual substance or be means of divine grace. The Eucharist is a thanksgiving for redemption, and may be an occasion of the faith by which we lay hold on Christ; but the Body of Christ is not present in the elements, or conveyed to us in the reception of them. But Cranmer, unlike Zwingli, retains "substantial thinking" in his doctrine of the Incarnation, and emphasizes the doctrine of mystical union with Christ. Hence the language of eucharistic piety is natural for him, although he avoids giving it any close connection with the rite—the holy mysteries testify that Christ dwells in us and we in him. Richardson has made an important contribution to the study of his topic, which should help to raise it out of the controversies with which Anglicans cannot help associating it into its proper place in the history of Reformation thought and of eucharistic faith and practice generally.

E. R. HARDY, JR.

Berkeley Divinity School

Account of Our Religion, Doctrine and Faith, given by Peter Riedemann of the Brothers whom men call Hutterians. First edition in English, translated from the original German edition (1565) in the British Museum by KATHLEEN E. HASENBERG, M. A. London: Hodder & Stoughton, in conjunction with The Plough Publishing House (Society of Brothers, Bromdon, Bridgnorth, Shropshire, England), 1950, 283 pages. No price given.

The publication of an English translation of Peter Riedemann's great

Rechenschaft (Confession of Faith or Account) written while imprisoned in Hesse in 1540, might be called a major event in Anabaptist studies. Besides the writings of Menno Simons, this is the first full length confessional document of the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century now available in an excellent translation, beautifully printed and nicely bound, with elaborate appendices and all necessary references. Scholars not too much at home with the German language will now have the opportunity of studying a major and rightly famous original Anabaptist doctrinal document at first hand. For a student of the Left-Wing Reformation it is almost a must-reading, though it comes from a branch of the Anabaptists (the Hutterites) who by their peculiar teachings concerning community of goods have a somewhat isolated position within the broader stream of Anabaptism. Yet there is enough of common spiritual heritage among all these groups to call this work definitely representative. It is most likely the only book of Hutterite origin which was printed during the sixteenth century. Of the first edition before 1545, no copy is known, but of the second print of 1565 three copies are known, in Berlin, London, and Chicago (from the latter a reprint was produced in German language in 1902). Riedemann's *Rechenschaft* is a work of about 215 pages (in print), and contains more than the merely doctrinal statements of the Brethren. It begins with an exposition of the "12 Essentials" of the Confession of Faith (following the Apostolic Creed)—thus incidentally proving the strictly Trinitarian character of the Evangelical Anabaptists—and then goes on to explain the central doctrine of "original sin" (54-59). "Sin is the forsaking of obedience to God"—but through repentance and rebirth man can make amends and find God's grace again. The new covenant is then sealed in Baptism, more central to the brethren than the former item. It is discussed at great length (68-80) both doctrinally and practically. Soon the *Account* turns from the doctrinal subject proper to a discussion of the ordering of the

entire life of the brotherhood (representing a sort of *Gemeinde Ordnung* or "church discipline," if church is taken for brotherhood). A second part of the *Account* (139-225) contains several more elaborate essays by Riedemann concerning separation from the world, covenant, Lord's Supper, governmental authority over Christians, etc. The English editors wisely placed all text references (about 1800) in a special appendix of thirty pages; it represents an imposing array of Scriptural proof texts. The translation is most appealing, and deserves a special word of praise in view of the great difficulties with a 16th century book. The style is, at least partly, based on the English of the King James Bible, thus approximating somewhat the flavor of the original. There is much which could be said about this document which so happily holds the balance between a strict scriptural understanding of the Christian faith ("the letter"), and a more spiritualistic interpretation ("the Spirit"). Much also would need to be said about the differences between a doctrinal confession (*Rechenschaft*) (1 Peter 3:15) and a theological elaboration which was so foreign to the Anabaptists. Riedemann's work would deserve a detailed monographic study and we express the hope that one day a work of this kind will be undertaken.

ROBERT FRIEDMANN

*Western Michigan College of
Education*

*Giordano Bruno: His Life and
Thought.* By DOROTHEA W. SINGER. New York: Henry Schuman, 1950. xi, 389 pages. \$6.00.

Giordano Bruno was burned at the stake in 1600. In the years immediately following his death as a heretic it was imprudent to avow any connection with him, but he has wielded a great influence on later generations, not only among scientists but also among the pantheistically inclined from Spinoza to the Romantic writers. The man himself wandered through most of western Europe seeking peace and patronage for his scholarly work which perennially aroused hostility that sent

him on his way. This book is a detailed record of that pilgrimage.

Painstakingly Mrs. Singer traces his movements from Italy, after his escape from the monastery in Naples, to France, England, France again, Germany, Bohemia, Switzerland, and finally to Venice whence he was sent as a prisoner of the Inquisition to Rome and death. The circles in which he moved and the ideas which he advanced, the sources of the intellectual ferment and his contributions to it are set forth with ample and critical documentation, and with clear exposition of doctrines which are often difficult to follow in the original. The story is one of daring devotion to intellectual conscience, brilliant speculative power, inept indifference to personal considerations, coupled with almost pathetic gratitude to any who showed appreciation of his efforts.

Summaries are given of the arguments of his various works, and his most influential book, *On the Infinite Universe and Worlds*, is translated from the Italian in its entirety, constituting the last third of the present volume. At the same time the extensive footnotes will lead the reader out into a wide range of literature of the history of ideas; while an appendix gives a complete index of Bruno's known works, including those which have been lost, together with place and probable date of publication and references to collected editions, and is supplemented by another appendix giving a list of the surviving manuscripts and their present location.

This is, then, a definitive text for the study of Bruno's life and thought; and taken in conjunction with Spompanato's two-volume biography (which includes reprints of all the surviving biographical documents on Bruno's life) will give any student an excellent introduction to the subject.

Students of church history will wish that Mrs. Singer had given in detail the charges preferred against Bruno by the Inquisition. Though these are repeatedly mentioned, they are nowhere listed in her account of his trial.

EDWIN E. AUBREY
University of Pennsylvania

From Puritanism to the Age of Reason. By G. R. CRAGG. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950. 247 pages. \$2.75.

This volume makes a distinctive contribution to the history of English religious thought. It is a readable report on extensive research directed toward the discovery, analysis and evaluation of new trends in English thinking during the period 1660-1700. Many now share an increasing conviction that Puritanism is fast becoming an overlooked field of historical investigation. Literature on the Age of Reason is abundant and fairly satisfactory. But hitherto only slight attention has been given to the varied and complex factors which influenced the transition from Puritanism to the Age of Reason. Cragg provides a most satisfactory treatment of this long-neglected topic.

The factors responsible for the eclipse of Calvinism after the Restoration are presented with adequate factual statement, ample documentation and penetrating analysis. There is a brief, but excellent study of the pioneers who helped to inaugurate a new approach to the solution of religious problems, particularly the Cambridge Christian Platonists and the Latitudinarians. The account of the impact of the new science on religious concepts is illuminating. Cragg is at his best in his discussion of "The Religious Significance of John Locke." His weakest chapter deals with the rise of Deism. Here he seems to give too much emphasis to the contributions of John Toland and too little recognition to the influence of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, whose ideas are presented in a five-line footnote. A much more satisfactory treatment is given to the influence of reorientation in religious thinking upon the relationship of church and state and the triumph of the idea of toleration.

The author purposely confines his study to Anglican religious thought, making only minor references to the ideas of Dissenters. There are other limitations, particularly the failure to recognize the influence of Continental thought in England during this period

and the persistent refusal to acknowledge the work of American scholars either in the text or bibliography. The chapter on "Toleration, The Triumph of an Idea" would have been greatly strengthened if the author had made use of the research findings reported by W. K. Jordan in his *The Development of Religious Toleration in England*. Despite these and other minor defects, this book deserves recognition as the best study in its field.

J. MINTON BATTEN
Vanderbilt School of Religion

Letters of Eric Gill. Edited by WALTER SHEWRING. New York, The Devin Adair Company, 1948. 480 pages. \$5.00.

This selection of letters of Eric Gill (1882-1940) gives a clear picture of the mind and circle of one of the most discussed artists of the first half of this century. In range of opinion, his correspondence extends from G. K. Chesterton to G. G. Coulton; in topics, from a letter to a railway magazine to three to *The Tablet*. Ananda Coomaraswamy received eight. As the center of considerable controversy in ecclesiastical sculpture—he was always able to take care of himself—he produced something of a revolution in fashion. His views on history,—in reply to Coulton,—are well worth quoting:

"Moreover the best Catholics or, if you like, the best Christians, are not historians any more than the best philosophers are gardeners or mechanical engineers. History seems to me a sort of highly interesting hobby. But now I am being inadvertently rude to you, and I didn't mean to be at all. I only mean that, though one knows there must be true history or false, the discovery of which is, compared with the knowledge and love of God, unimportant. I am trying as much as possible in all that I write (and think) to avoid the historical basis—it's beyond my competence, anyway, to judge the value of documentary evidence." [The letter concludes,] "Yours affectionately . . ." (p. 253)

As a first hand picture of a wide range of thought on religious opinion, controversy, and art in England, historians will long remain indebted to its editor, for it reveals a circle which contains representatives of all sides of thought as well as hints on the sources

of inspiration of a great ecclesiastical artist and a Catholic of wide sympathy.

F. W. BUCKLER

The Graduate School of Theology
Oberlin College

Die Ostkirche. By METROPOLITAN SERAPHIM. Stuttgart: W. Speermann Verlag, 1950. 339 pages. Price not given.

Metropolitan Seraphim, archbishop of Berlin and Germany, and metropolitan of the Middle European Metropolitanate of the Russian Orthodox Church, has cooperated with two other Orthodox scholars in producing this volume which aims at portraying various aspects of the life and thought of Orthodoxy. He himself contributed the first essay (Part I) dealing with the dogmatic system of Eastern Orthodoxy; the second section of this part, consisting of a short sketch of the historical development of Orthodoxy as a whole, and of the various national churches separately, was written by Priest Vasily Lengsfelder; and the last section (Part II) is descriptive of the spiritual life of the Church, and was written by Professor Ivan Chetverikov.

The first of these three sections gives a concise presentation and interpretation of Orthodox dogmas and doctrines. In relation to Roman Catholicism, Orthodoxy repudiates Pelagianism and scholasticism; in relation to Protestantism, it rejects rationalism. Its own motto is: back to the Fathers and the patristic age! But this task of restoring patristic theology in its purity has not been accomplished by any means, for up to about a century ago Orthodoxy was under the influence of Western, particularly Roman Catholic, theology. It was the Russian Religious Renaissance which broke the spell of Westernism. Nor has the Metropolitan added greatly to the accomplishment of the task, although he has stated lucidly and succinctly what the present status of the task is.

The historical survey presented in the second section is hardly extensive and detailed enough to be of very much use except as an elementary introduction. Nevertheless, even so the author

has made some dubious assertions: he ignores such modern researches as those of George Vernadsky (in his *Kievan Russia*) and repeats assertions such as that Patriarch Photius sent "the first bishop and the first missionaries" to Kiev in 945; that Olga was baptized in Constantinople in 955; and that Vladimir called missionaries from Constantinople (p. 160). Another disappointing feature is that the very short treatment does not include, except in rare instances, the latest post-war developments. But it does comprise a consideration of the non-Orthodox, separated communions such as the Nestorians, the Armenians, and others.

The most satisfactory—and the long—est—is the section dealing with the spiritual life of Orthodoxy. It not only includes a discussion of the doctrine of the Church, but describes and interprets the symbolism of church services at considerable length. The treatment of the monastic life, particularly of the institution of elders in monasteries (*starsi*), is well done and most valuable. Biographical sketches of outstanding monastic leaders and saints, as well as of some famous *starsi*, add greatly to the significance and value of the book.

As an over-all, introductory study, the book may be recommended in the confidence that it will prove useful.

MATTHEW SPINKA

The Hartford Seminary Foundation

The Story of the Mennonites. By C. HENRY SMITH. Third edition, revised and enlarged by Cornelius Krahn. Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Publishing Office. 1950. xi; 856 pages. \$3.75.

This standard history of the Mennonites has proved its value through three editions, and thanks to the new additions and revisions will undoubtedly continue to do so. When, in 1941, it first came out, the book was extensively reviewed in this magazine. Ten years have passed since. They have not only produced new and valuable research material, but, more important, they also have moved the history of this denomination a great bit onward. The War in Russia brought great tragedy

to those Mennonites who still had managed to stay in their old homes in the Southern Ukraine. Only a small part of them could be resettled in the last few years in far away Paraguay where they joined the older groups which had arrived there in the late 1920's. Dr. Smith's *Story* begins with the earliest Anabaptist rising in Switzerland in the 1520's, and then goes on telling the story of the church both in Europe and in the Americas up to 1940. Dr. Cornelius Krahn of Bethel College, Newton, Kansas, revised somewhat the eight hundred pages of the volume, and added the story for the decade between 1940 and 1950, with its rich dramatic moments and far reaching consequences. A practical bibliography and a full index are most welcome. The book can be warmly recommended; it is authoritative and makes good and easy reading.

ROBERT FRIEDMANN

*Western Michigan College of
Education*

*The Augustana Lutheran Church
in America.* By OSCAR N. OLSON.
Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana
Book Concern, 1950, XVI; 397
pages. \$3.50.

This book is the first volume of a projected series of three which will present a documented history of that section of the Lutheran Church in America which represents the Swedish tradition. This first study is concerned largely with European and American backgrounds, beginning with the causes of Swedish emigration, which were both religious and economic in character, and going on to describe the efforts of the Swedish immigrants to establish organized religious activities on the American frontier and their adjustment to life in the new world.

The history of the Lutheran Church in America may be divided into three phases. The earliest phase began in 1638 when the first contingent of Swedish Lutherans settled on the present site of Wilmington, Delaware. The second chapter was initiated by the magnificent efforts of the "Father of American Lutheranism," Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who landed in Philadelphia in

1742 and six years later organized the Pennsylvania Ministerium. The third phase was set in motion during the third and fourth decades of the 19th century when hundreds of thousands of Lutheran immigrants arrived from Germany and the Scandinavian countries and established themselves on the prairie lands of the Middle West.

It is out of this third phase of development that the Augustana Lutheran Church has come. In 1948 this Church celebrated the centennial of its earliest organized work and in connection with that event established the Department of Historical Research. To this office it called Dr. Oscar Olson, veteran pastor and distinguished churchman. In this present work, Dr. Olson has rendered a distinctive service not only to his own Church, but has made a significant contribution to the field of American religious literature. He has examined and set in proper focus an immense amount of historical data, much of which has hitherto been scattered and therefore unavailable. This historical material is a real part of the American saga, for though the Swedish Lutherans have occupied a relatively small place in the total picture of the expanding life of America, they have played their part. Indeed, the richness and the greatness which is America has eventuated, not from a few large and predominant cultural strains, but from the innumerable contributions of many peoples, each with their own unique qualities.

In the growing literature detailing the Scandinavian contribution to American life, this historical study of the pioneer period of the Augustana Lutheran Church deserves an important place. For though the Swedish Americans have made notable contributions in the fields of science, industry, agriculture, government and education, their most significant role has been in the field of religion where they have enriched American life with their conservative evangelical faith and their numerous institutions of Christian nurture and benevolence.

G. EVERETT ARDEN

Augustana Theological Seminary

These Evangelical United Brethren. By PAUL H. ELLER. Dayton, Ohio: The Otterbein Press. 128 pages. \$1.75.

Beginning with an account of the formation of the Evangelical United Brethren Church at its first General Conference in Johnston, Pa., on November 16, 1946, the author proceeds in successive chapters to set out the narrative of the development and contributions of the bodies constituting this union. Against a contemporary background of early nineteenth century America Professor Eller shows the emergence of the Church of The United Brethren in Christ and the Evangelical Church, each organized in 1800.

The former denomination was an outgrowth of the American pietistic movement in the Reformed Church led by the Rev. Philip William Otterbein. The Evangelical Church was begun by Jacob Albright, originally of the Lutheran Church, who was also influenced by American Pietism and the Great Awakenings in the newly born republic.

Although these very similar denominations grew up side by side from their earliest beginnings in eastern Pennsylvania, all previous efforts to unite their forces were unsuccessful. At the time of the union, almost five years ago, the denomination numbered about 750,000 members with missions in South America, The West Indies, The Philippines, China, Japan, Sierra Leone, Nigeria and Europe.

The author, who is professor of Church History in the Evangelical Theological Seminary at Naperville, Ill., one of the four seminaries of the denomination, devotes the latter portion of his work to a brief description of the organization, polity, institutions, the ministry and the basic ecclesiastical position of the recently formed church. His purpose has been to provide a popular history for study groups in church schools and conferences and to answer the commonly raised questions which laymen of the church may ask. Although the work suffers from its brevity it is well conceived and well executed within its limits.

RAYMOND W. ALBRIGHT
The Evangelical School of Theology

The History of the Chaplain Corps, United States Navy, by CAPTAIN CLIFFORD MERRILL DRURY, Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office. Vol. II, 1939-1949. 372 pages. \$3.00

For anyone wishing to read in detail the history of the activities of the Navy Chaplain Corps for the years 1939-1949, this volume affords a rare and inspiring source of information. Interspersed with dozens of photos of persons and chapels, as well as with charts, it provides the reader with the story of religious ministry to the naval forces on behalf of Roman Catholics, Protestants and Jews.

Chapters deal with such subjects as: The months before Pearl Harbor; Pearl Harbor and afterwards; chaplain procurement; the indoctrination of chaplains; the V-12 program; the chaplain's specialist; the chief chaplain's office; equipment and chapels; chaplains in combat and at work; chaplains and service women; the unusual in the chaplain's life; ships and stations without chaplains; Churches alert in World War II; the Corps in transition and retrospect.

This volume is largely a compilation of photos and facts put together in narrative style. Here and there one detects some misspelled names, but these can be corrected in later editions. The editor is to be commended for his labor of love which will be of inestimable value for students interested in the relation of the three great faiths in the United States to the naval branch of the national forces during these ten fateful years.

Several observations come to mind in reading this interesting record. There are some Churches which took their responsibility to the naval forces and other branches of the service more seriously than others. Notable among these are the Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist, Lutheran and Baptist Churches. The recruiting and training of chaplains was done with expedition during the emergency, and it is a wonder that the task was accomplished in so short a time. Even the Christian Scientist Church provid-

ed for thirteen welfare workers to minister to members of their persuasion in certain areas. The story of heroism on the part of many chaplains is one to arouse admiration, even to the point of envy and pride. In time of war, when men had to live largely from day to day without the comforts and securities of peacetime, religion became a genuine reality. This note is detected on many a page of this volume. Baptisms took place in peculiar places; the Holy Communion was administered in strange circumstances. The spirit of unity obtained under stress among men of differing faiths.

The student of church history is impressed with the fact that only the United States made ample provision for religious services to its armed forces. While some nations still maintain an established Church, the United States with its doctrine of the separation of the Church from the State maintains a chaplains corps provided for by government taxation funds!

Another observation of the student of church history is that the history of Christianity is not merely confined to the history of ecclesiastical institutions; it is far broader than formal organizations. The history of Christianity will have to take into consideration the impact of the chaplains' ministry upon the personnel of the armed forces. While the Churches provided the chaplains, the Christian influence they wielded was far beyond the history that is usually taught in church history classrooms.

While it is impossible for this reviewer to make a careful check on all the details herein related because they come from so many sources, the volume does pioneer in an aspect of church history which is often lightly treated. Those with pacifist leanings may object to the entire story, but even they

may find in this beautifully printed book a story of religious ministry that has taken the Christian faith to the men serving in the seven seas.

E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN

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Paraguayan Interlude; Observations and Impressions. By WILLARD H. SMITH, with the collaboration of Verna G. Smith. Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1950, xii; 184 pages. No price given.

This is a delightful and most enjoyable personal story of Dr. Willard Smith (incidentally, a nephew of C. Henry Smith) and his wife, about their years in South America where the author served as director of the Mennonite Central Committee for the Paraguayan Mennonites. He stayed there for two years (1944 and 1945) and then returned by way of the West coast. The book gives a lively first hand report of the life and problems of the Mennonite settlers in this remote country, in particular in the Paraguayan Chaco (the "Green Hell") where the majority of those brethren settled who had fled from Soviet Russia between 1929 and 1944. By and large it is a heartening and encouraging story, told with great warmth and modesty. It can justly be called a positive contribution to recent church history, depicting the pioneer life of these pilgrims for conscience' sake. It tells frankly also of certain shortcomings and defections, but more of their unbroken stamina to cope with the hardships of the land and their decision to remain loyal to the faith of their fathers. Good pictures enhance the value of this little book.

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NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

Dear Sirs:

I should like to add a note to Leonard J. Trinterud's article on "the Origins of Puritanism" in the March 1951 issue of *Church History*, particularly in reference to the contention that there is no possible influence by the Anabaptists on the early development of the church covenant idea (footnote 28).

The Anabaptist opponents to Zwingli in Zürich were using I Peter 3:21 as an argument against infant baptism: "Baptism . . . is the covenant (Bund) of a good conscience toward God." Zwingli, according to his own testimony, has opposed infant baptism (*Corpus Reformatorum*, IV, 228), as late as 1523, according to Hubmaier (*Ibid.*), who claimed that Zwingli had preached against infant baptism from the pulpit, as Grebel also claimed. (Egli, *Actensammlung*, 797, 378). Zwingli changed his mind about baptism shortly thereafter, insisting that there is only one covenant, which God made with Abraham, and which continues in effect for Christians who baptize their children as the Hebrews circumcised. By 1527 his argument against the Anabaptist covenant idea (*Elenchus*, CR, VI, 30) had developed to an assertion that "the covenant and election of God, which abides firm, is above baptism and circumcision; nay, above faith and preaching."

But in his answer *Ueber Balthasar Hubmaiers Taufbüchlein* (Schuler and Schultess, II, 1, 360) published in 1525, Zwingli noted Hubmaier's use of the quotation from I Peter and

commented, "When you take belief as the whole meaning of the covenant, I will agree with you. You are right that baptism is an open sign of the covenant, the sign of the beginning of your duty, etc. . . . But how does that weaken infant baptism, or aid rebaptism?" The *Hutterian Chronicle* notes the use of the same covenant quotation by Grebel and Manz in Zürich against Zwingli. (Zieglschmid, 46, 47). Thus, it seems quite clear that Zwingli was forced into interpretation of the meaning of the covenant by the Anabaptist controversy as early as 1524, since Hubmaier wrote Oecolampadius about his *Taufbüchlein* on January 16, 1525. (*Oekolampads Briefe*, I, 341).

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The American Society for Reformation Research is happy to announce that it is cooperating with the German Verein fuer Reformationsgeschichte in reviving the ARCHIV FÜR REFORMATIONSGESCHICHTE as an international journal in which articles, reviews, and notices of scholarly activities will appear in German and English. The articles will be accompanied by abstracts in the opposite language. Both issues of volume 43 will appear in July or August of this year.

Mr. Samuel V. O. Prichard, Jr., Department of Speech, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, is seeking information concerning two preachers, Theodore Ledyard Cuyler, and Richard Salter Storrs.

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